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Thirty-five years of Luther
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Thirty-five Years of Luther Research

By

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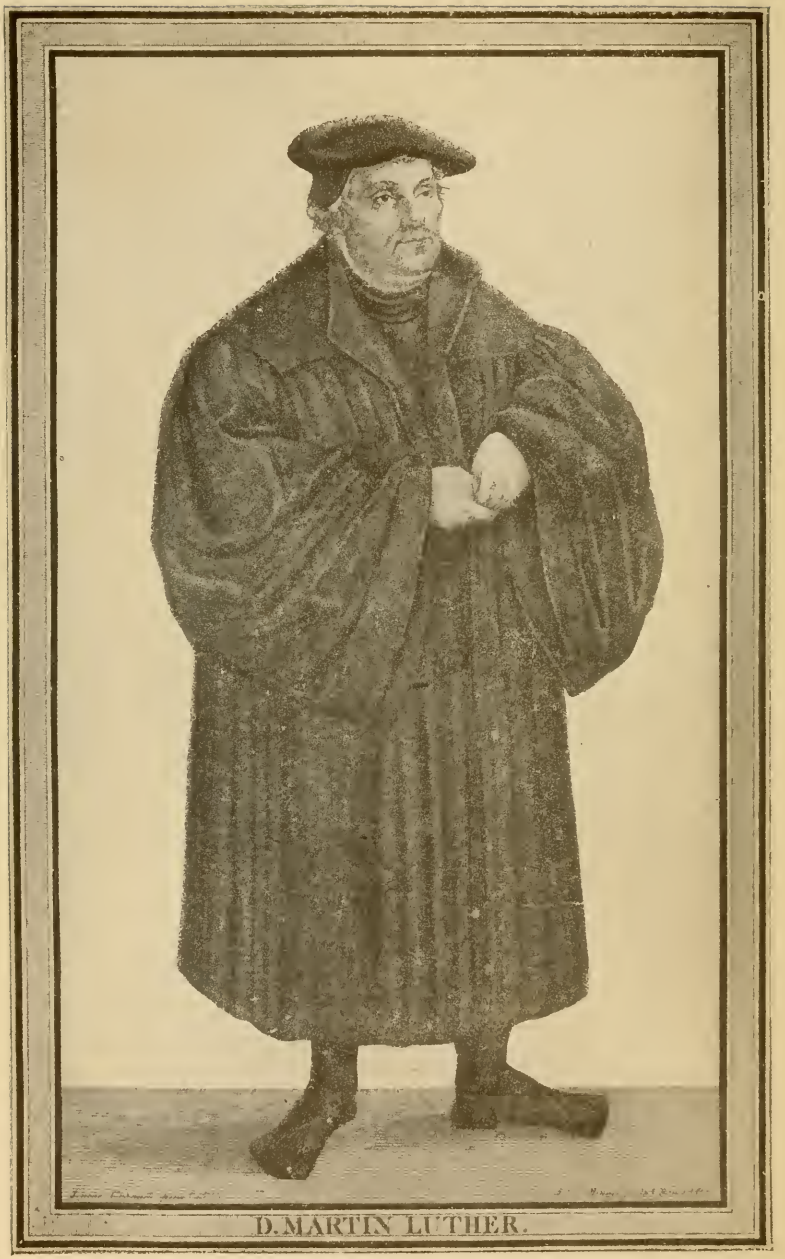

Luther in the year 1543.
Engraved by F. W. Bollinger after a painting by Cranach.

INTRODUCTION

EXCEPT the small work of Boehmer, cast in popular form, there is no complete treatment in English of the many problems in the Life of Luther that have been raised and investigated by scholars since the Four Hundredth Anniversary of his Birth in 1883. Hence *The Lutheran Church Review* requested the brilliant source-scholar, Prof. M. Reu, D.D., of Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, to prepare a Life of Luther in Recent Research, and published it in several special numbers. This work is so thoroughgoing, satisfactory, and important, and has been so enthusiastically received by readers, that the Joint Lutheran Committee on the Celebration of the Quadricentennial of the Reformation was moved to advise its separate publication.

It is the most up-to-date, fresh, and scholarly presentation of the subject in the English language, and will be of invaluable assistance to all Protestants who desire to gain an insight into the present Luther situation, and to become convinced of the justice of the Protestant cause.

THEODORE E. SCHMAUK,
Chairman of the Joint Lutheran Quadricentennial Committee.

FOREWORD

THESE essays make no further pretensions than to afford a comprehensive survey of the immense amount of work done in the field of Luther research since 1883, and thus to serve as a reliable guide through the wealth of Luther literature for any one anxious to examine the whole or to subject this or that phase to intensive study. Since these essays were not to develop into a ponderous volume the author was ofttimes forced to content himself with the mere mention of certain studies instead of detailing their results and outlining the reasons for the same. The chapters: Luther and the Scriptures, Luther and the German Language, and Luther and England, have not appeared in the Lutheran Church Review, but have been written especially for the book-edition; and the chapter, "Rome's Procedure Against Luther," is much enlarged, and many minor additions have taken place.

After the plan for this work had already been sketched and certain sections finished the splendid essay by Kawerau, "Fuenfundzwanzig Jahre Lutherforschung," published in "Theologische Studien und Kritiken," 1908, came under the author's notice. The occasional use of this is herewith gratefully acknowledged.

Though it is a fundamental principle of all scientific work, not to quote anything which has not been personally examined, the wealth of the literary material in question and the remoteness of the author's place of residence from many of the literary treasures, precluded the

possibility of applying this principle in each and every instance, a fact which is very much regretted. For those who wish to continue further research the remark will not come amiss that the University of Chicago possesses a large part of the literature here mentioned, and that its library includes a splendid collection of German theological magazines.

That these essays are here presented in readable English is due to the labors of the Revs. E. Groth of Casselton, N. D., and Emil H. Rausch of Waverly, Iowa, who kindly furnished the English copy.

Dubuque, Iowa, March, 1917. M. Reu.

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THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF LUTHER RESEARCH

I. FACTORS WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT A NEW PERIOD IN LUTHER RESEARCH

In connection with the preparation for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth there began in the early eighties a period of research into the life of the great reformer which continues even today. In point of thoroughness, unflagging zeal, comprehensive and scientific character, this period has outdistanced every previous effort in the same direction.

This can hardly be explained by the fact that Lutheran theology and learning possesses an inherent instinct to investigate, an instinct that may lie dormant at times, only ever to be revived to greater action. A revival of this nature generally responds either to the intensification of the Christian life or to external conditions. The first can hardly be assumed at that time, and as for the second, it is just these external conditions that we have to consider. Even the anniversary of Luther's birth and the preparation for the coming jubilee of 1917 do not fully explain it. Otherwise the research into the life of Luther would have been marked by a similar intensity during the period from 1783 to 1817. We shall hardly go amiss if we assume that there were primarily two factors, working hand in hand, which made possible this period and gave it its singular character.

In the first place, entirely new methods and principles of research had been established in the study of history. Historians were no longer content to develop the commonly accepted data into ingenious treaties with special reference to their philosophical aspect, according to the ideas of Hegel and others. Instead, they sought to come nearer to the truth of things. Patiently and minutely they examined all authentic sources that came into consideration, seeking to establish the factors and conditions that brought about the results. And in this way, piece by piece, they resurrected the happenings of the past and their causes, without burdening them with additions of their own. It was the influence of Ranke's school, with its analogue in the Oxford school of England, which originated between 1870 and 1875, and whose leaders, Stubbs and Creighton, were dependent in no small measure on Ranke, that entirely revised the study of history.[1] The librarian of the old order jealously and Argus-eyed guarding his treasures that no one might so much as glance at them, gave way to the librarian of the new order. Not only did the governments gradually grant free access to the written treasures of the past, but, at least in Germany, their use was made so easy that today there are no old sources not available for research. In Germany especially, the government decreed that henceforth nothing in the libraries and archives should be destroyed, and these, too, since the Franco-Prussian war, were much more freely supplied with the necessary funds. More than that, in the town halls of the cities, as well as in the parsonages of the rural districts, the government aroused interest and sympathy for everything connected with the past, and qualified to help its understanding. It was inevitable, therefore, that this new mode of research

should also dominate the study of church and Reformation history, that entirely new methods be created, hitherto hidden sources brought to light, and radically new goals set.

This transplanting of the methods of Ranke's school into the field of church history, although already demanded and applied, especially by Reuter in Breslau and Goettingen, and also by Kolde in Marburg and Erlangen,[2] gained greater momentum since the beginning of the eighties. It was a stupendous step onward and not only forced the older church historians either to reform their methods or be dropped by the wayside, but also possessed the added advantage, that church history gradually lost its isolated position, and instead of being regarded as an isolated sphere was looked upon as something the understanding of which is only complete when linked with the understanding of contemporaneous events in secular history. And here again it was Kolde who grasped this truth more clearly than any one else and helped it to victory.[3] It was also Kolde who proved that church history, even if placed within the range of secular history, does not lose its peculiar purpose and identity, nor that an impairment in any manner follows therefrom.

The *second factor* was this: In 1877 there appeared the first volume of the voluminous work "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters," by Johann Janssen, professor in the catholic gymnasium of Frankfurt on the Main, and already in 1886 the fifth volume of this history was finished. In Frankfurt historical interests had always been cultivated. It had been the seat of the "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica" before these were transplanted to Berlin. In this old imperial city the Rankean school had worked like a leaven among

the students of history. Through the Protestant city librarian, J. F. Boehmer, a very able man in historical research work, Janssen was drawn into this circle. Janssen then flung himself with the greatest of zeal upon the deeper study of the written and printed sources dealing with the last centuries of the Middle Ages, contained in the valuable archives of the city. Already in 1863 there appeared, as the result of this study, "Frankfurt's Reichscorrespondenz nebst verwandten Aktenstuecken, 1376-1519." Although the efficient co-operation of a catholic historian in the effort to shed more light upon the last centuries of the Middle Ages was highly gratifying even to Protestants, yet the publication of his history of the German people, the first volume of which appeared in 1877, proved a blow aimed at the very heart of Protestantism. In this work Janssen had placed his extensive knowledge of the religious conditions of the end of the Middle Ages into the service or subservience of the proof that the church, art, and science enjoyed a period of flourishing growth in the era just preceding the Reformation, only to be trampled to death under the roughshod feet of Luther and his followers. The volumes following, with their characterization of Luther and the Reformation, follow the same methods and thoughts employed in the first volume.

This work—its methods and main conclusions defended by the author in his "An meine Kritiker," Freiburg, 1882, and "Ein zweites Wort an meine Kritiker," Freiburg, 1883—achieved a very surprising and almost unparalleled success; the first volume, for instance, in three years was printed in the sixth edition, 1883 in the eighth; the second volume was printed in the seventh in 1882. Today the first four volumes, which have been continued and

Luther, the Augustinian.
Copper engraving by L. Cranach.

edited by L. Pastor, have appeared in not less than twenty editions, not to speak of the different translations of the work.[4] The simple style, the seeming thoroughness and objectiveness, with which Janssen brings a wealth of proof from the sources for every, often even the most absurd statement, its apparently unbiased tendencies, its conclusions, startling for the Lutheran, but welcome to the Catholics, its introduction into a hitherto almost shamefully neglected but important and new field of research, all of this together with the malignant zeal, with which all Catholic circles spread broadcast this production, explain its great success. G. Bossert (in "Wuerttemberg und Janssen," Halle, 1884) wrote concerning it: "Spread broadcast within a few years in many thousand copies, this work has not only found zealous readers among the militant spirits in the younger generation of the Catholic clergy; but even Catholic laymen, temperamentally far cooler, studied it with a devotion, as if they had found in it the long-lost Gospel. Yes, strange to say, this work has found favor, even with Protestants. Many a Protestant, in the belief that Janssen is right, thinks that he must recast his judgment, and that not for the better, of the Reformation and the reformers. In the press and in public gatherings one continually meets with opinions of Protestants concerning the faith of their ancestors, its origin and its influence upon the life of the people, upon morals, art, and economic conditions, opinions all of which are echoes from Janssen.

It can be readily understood, what an ascendency this handy reference book, with its smooth diction, its dazzling knowledge of literature and its proud claim of agreeing with the old sources, must have gained in the minds of the cultured classes of today, as long as they them-

selves do not possess the opportunity for closer investigation."[5]

"The militant spirits among the younger generation," of whom mention is made here, diligently copied their master, although generally their writings were marked by a greater flagrancy and carelessness, so that between 1880 and 1884 Germany was fairly deluged by more or less skillful libelous writings against Luther and the Reformation, until finally, in 1890, P. Majunke, priest and one-time editor of the *Koelner Volkszeitung* and of the Berlin *Germania,* reached the acme in absurdity and malice by pronouncing Luther a suicide.[6] What wonder, then, that men began to study the history of the Reformation, and of the life and works of Luther as never before; that the old, as well as newly-established, results of learned research, were made accessible to the cultured as well as the common people in a far greater measure than ever before? Bossert, whom we quoted above, continues: "The time demands that the history of the Reformation be given anew to the Protestant people of Germany, with the continual proof of the fallacies contained in Janssen's work." Already, in 1882, the "Verein fuer Reformationsgeschichte" was founded, which announced as its aim: "To make more accessible to the greater public the positive results of research concerning the origin of our Protestant Church, the personalities and facts of the Reformation, and the influence they asserted on all the phases of the life of the people, so that through a direct introduction into the history of our Church the Protestant consciousness may be confirmed and strengthened" (Par. 1 of the Statutes of the Society). Up to the present day, we have a series of more than one hundred and twenty numbers bearing the

Luther in the year 1521.
Copper engraving by L. Cranach.

title, "Schriften des Vereins fuer Reformationsgeschichte," which have been exceptionally well introduced by Kolde's writing, "Luther und der Reichstag zu Worms, 1521" (Halle, 1883). All of them deal directly with Luther, or with movements caused by his lifework.

Janssen gave a real and unmistakable impetus to research work on Luther among men of learning. Prepared to work in a scientific manner by accepting Ranke's methods in the field of church history, they were forced by Janssen to begin. Added to this, Janssen's lifework not only was taken up by other Catholic theologians, continued and its scope widened,[7] but a later book by Denifle, "Luther und Luthertum in der ersten Entwicklung quellenmaessig dargestellt" (1st vol. 1st ed. 1904; 2nd vol. ed. by A. M. Weiss, 1909), also raised new questions and demanded a more thorough study, especially of the pre-Reformation theology. The latest Catholic work on Luther, by H. Grisar (Martin Luther, first volume: Luther's Werden, second volume: Auf der Hoehe des Lebens, 1911, third volume: Am Ende der Bahn, 1912), had much less influence on Protestant research into the life of Luther.

Subordinated to these two main factors, there are *two further circumstances* that were of material assistance. In the first place, Protestant theology was given the great book on Luther, by *Julius Koestlin:* "Martin Luther; Sein Leben und seine Schriften," in 1875, and in 1883 this work appeared in its second edition vastly improved. Koestlin did not belong to the Rankean school. He was not a church historian, but a systematician. He did not study the old sources in the manner of the historians of this school, when he began his work; and even later he rarely co-operated in the search for new material, that

was being conducted in the archives.[8] With his inherent thoroughness, trustworthiness, and soberness he carefully examined all the printed material accessible to him, and in the spirit of true criticism and ripe judgment, painstakingly considering and even presenting the leading thoughts of all the important writings of Luther, he molded the result of his investigations into a book, that in a measure never accomplished before afforded a thoroughly trustworthy insight into the development of the life and thoughts of the reformer. With this a firm foundation was laid, upon which all further research could build. It even incited others to do special research in this or that direction.

In the second place, just at the beginning of the period which we are about to discuss, the Protestant Church was blessed by God with a number of *distinguished young investigators* who were able to take up the work anew and carry it on to a successful conclusion. Among those who had busied themselves in the past two decades with thorough studies concerning Luther were Karl Knaake and Ludwig Enders, who were still in the height of their intellectual ability. As a candidate for the ministry already, *Knaake* had entered upon this field of research with his short but pertinent writing, "Luther's Anteil an der Augsburger Confession," against Rueckert and Heppe (1863). Then he began to edit the works of Staupitz (the first volume and only one, because the book found no subscribers, appeared in 1867). Together with Franz von Soden, he published the important letter album of Christ. Scheurl of Nuernberg (1867 and 1872). In his "Jahrbuecher des deutschen Reichs und der deutschen Kirche im Zeitalter der Reformation" (1872), which expired in its first stages, he made accessi-

ble Scheurl's "Geschichtbuch der Christenheit von 1511 bis 1521," also a number of documents pertaining to the Diet of Augsburg of 1518. For his own particular studies he collected one of the greatest and most valuable collections of prints from the sixteenth century. In 1876 there appeared in "Zeitschrift fuer lutherische Theologie und Kirche" a critical review of more than forty pages of Koestlin's "Martin Luther," in which Knaake proved himself the superior of Koestlin in the matter of detail. *Enders,* of Oberrad, near Frankfurt on the Main, since 1882 was active with the revision of the Luther edition of Erlangen, and since the appearance of the new editions of "Vermischte Predigten" (1877) had revealed a rare knowledge of the literature of this age, and in this edition he also published for the first time a large number of hitherto unknown sermons taken from a valuable manuscript at Wolfenbuettel.

At this time other promising young men also entered the field. Most prominent among them was Theodor *Kolde,* who had been appointed lecturer in Marburg in 1876, and had then followed a call to Erlangen in 1881. Barely twenty-four years of age, he erected a memorial to a maternal ancestor, the famous Saxon chancellor Brueck, in "Kanzler Brueck und seine Bedeutung fuer die Entwicklung der Reformation," in "Zeitschrift fuer historische Theologie" (1874); in 1876 he discussed Luther's position over against Council and Church until the Diet of Worms in a study bearing this title. Finally, in 1879 he established his reputation as a historian through the excellent writing, "Die deutsche Augustiner Kongregation und Johannes von Staupitz," a rare *specimen eruditionis,* in which he strictly applied the methods of the Rankean school and in careful detail set forth

many facts, hitherto entirely unknown. No less an authority than Kawerau as late as 1908 (Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1908, p. 343) made the following comment on this work: "Kolde has been the first one to bring into the light of history the order to which Luther belonged, in view of its inner development as well as of its propaganda in Germany, in view of its theological tendencies as well as of its inner strifes. He taught us to understand a Proles and a Staupitz, he shed light upon the inner conflicts of the German congregation, which resulted in Luther's journey to Rome. With the aid of the old sources he made us understand the monastery life of which Luther was a part, and acquainted us with Luther's activities as vicar of his district. He pointed out to us the history of the disbanding of a great number of German Augustine monasteries, due to the influence of Luther's initiative." In 1881 Kolde followed his former writings with "Friederich der Weisse und die Anfänge der Reformation;" at the same time preparing himself for greater things.

Gustav *Kawerau,* now Probst, member of the higher consistory in Berlin, like Kolde, Silesian by birth, joined hands with Kolde in the common work. While still a pastor at Klenzig, he published in 1881 an able monograph on John Agricola, of Eisleben, Luther's well known pupil, who already, in 1518, published Luther's sermons on Our Lord's Prayer (Lent, 1517).[9] In the next year already Kawerau followed up his previous writings with "Kasper Guettel, ein Lebensbild aus Luther's Freundeskreis." The third, who must be mentioned in this connection was Theodor *Brieger,* died 1915 at Leipzig, like Kolde, a pupil of Reuter, during the latter's period in Greifswald. Although his book, "Gasparo Contarini und

Luther as 'Junker Joerg', December, 1521.
Painting by L. Cranach.

das Regensburger Konkordienwerk des Jahres 1541" (1870), did not touch the research work on Luther, he ranked first among the historians of the Reformation period.

Another pupil of Reuter, afterward at Koenigsberg and then historian at Goettingen, *P. Tschackert,* was at this time assistant professer at Halle. G. *Buchwald,* who later made a name for himself as the fortunate discoverer of many manuscipts concerning Luther, had already at this time betrayed his interest in the research work on Luther through his essay, "Luther und die Juden" (1881). Even Wilhelm *Walther,* of Rostock, at the present time known as one of the best authorities on Luther, at this time already revealed what field of endeavors he was eventually to enter, for the theme "Luther und Rom," which since 1883 was so masterfully treated by him, had already received its first attention through his lengthy essay, "Die Fruechte der Roemischen Beichte" (reprinted in "W. Walther, Zur Wertung der Reformation" 1909, pp. 14-75).

Knaake, Enders, Kolde, Kawerau, Brieger, Tschackert, Buchwald, Walther, the constellation around Koestlin, constituted an able group of excellently trained historical investigators, fully qualified to investigate Luther's life and theology according to the principles of Ranke's school, successfully to cope with Janssen's caricatures, and thus to place before the eyes of the Protestant Church an undistorted, truthful picture of the great reformer.

II. FIELDS IN WHICH NEW MATERIAL WAS DISCOVERED

Thus with the year 1883 there began an industrious research in archives and libraries, confined not only to Germany, for old printed writings of Luther, and for such manuscripts that might shed light upon his life and work. Here also *Kolde* must first be mentioned. For, whereas, those who were fortunate enough to discover many relics of Luther by chance, as, for example, Buchwald, or those who were aided in an extraordinary measure by the State, or through the arrangement of libraries and archives meanwhile much improved, as, for example, Albrecht, Kolde undertook extended journeys at his own expense to collect material from the archives for a new biography of Luther. As a result of these journeys he introduced the public for the first time to many archives which were important in themselves, and in their relation to the research work on Luther. Then he published his discoveries in his *"Analecta Lutherana,"* which appeared in 1883, and in which he not only pointed out new paths for further investigation, but also aroused widespread interest in it.[10] However, in this part of our essay we shall treat of a different thing. By means of a comprehensive survey, we shall concern ourselves with those phases of Luther's life and activities, concerning which new manuscripts have been discovered in the last thirty-five years.

To be considered in the first place is such material which sheds light upon his religious and theological *devel-*

opment up until 1517, when he posted his ninety-five theses. It was of no small value, when Buchwald discovered various printed matter that had belonged to Luther in the library of the "Ratschule" at Zwickau, and which often contained comments written by Luther himself. Such comments were written on the margin of writings of Augustine, 1503, the Sententiæ of Petrus Lombardus, 1510-1511, the sermons of Tauler, possibly 1516, the works of Anselm of Canterbury, and Tritheim (born 1462, died 1516), 1513-1516. Since 1893 these comments may be found in the ninth volume of the Weimar Luther edition (pp. 2-114). It was of greatest importance that Kawerau, by means of the Dresden Manuscript found by Franz Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, and too literally rendered in Seidemann's publication of 1876, and by means of the Wolfenbuettel manuscript, which Walch had already copied and published in an altogether deficient German translation, created a very trustworthy text of Luther's lectures in the monastery, 1513-1516, on the Psalms, "Dictata super Psalterium" (see third and fourth volumes of the Weimar edition).

The same importance, however, cannot be attached to a copy of Luther's lecture on the Book of Judges from the year 1516, which Buchwald found in Zwickau; although among other things this copy contains some excellent directions for the basis and aim of the truly evangelical sermon. Thus we read, for example: "Holy Scriptures alone are the criterion according to which everything must be weighed and evaluated whether it is right or wrong," or "Sinners can only be directed to Christ, for from sin we can only be freed by Christ;" or, "Pray to God incessantly, that we may have sanctified teachers who know the way of truth and who can preach

us Christ and His Cross." In 1884 Buchwald published this lecture separately with an introduction by Koestlin. For the Weimar edition Kawerau supplied the text (Vol. IV, pp. 527-586).—Thanks are also due to Buchwald that a number of Luther's sermons, from 1514-1517, hitherto unknown, found in copies at Zwickau, were brought to light. They are now to be found in the Weimar edition, fourth volume, p. 587 ff.

The most important find, however, was made in 1899 by John Ficker, of Strassburg, through the aid of his friend and pupil, Dr. H. Vopel, who worked in the Vatican Library at Rome, for he discovered in the "Palatina"[11] a manuscript containing Luther's commentary on Romans from 1515-1516. Entrusted by the Weimar Luther Commission with the publication of this, he found in a showcase of the Royal Library of Berlin Luther's original handwriting of this commentary, which had been kept here for a long time, and in some curious manner was never used by any one.[12] It was known of what importance the Epistle to the Romans had always been to Luther, and that especially Romans I, 16-17, played a large role in his pre-Reformation development, but as to details there was complete groping in the dark.[13] Because the taking over of this newly found commentary into the Weimar edition necessitated further preliminary work, Ficker decided on an earlier edition, which appeared in 1908 with Dietrich (Th. Weicher) in Leipzig, as the first volume of "Anfaenge Reformatorischer Bibelauslegung," to the great joy of all researchers on Luther. It comprised two parts, the first containing the "Glosse" (Glossae), the second the "Scholien" (Scholiae). Through it we are not only well informed, in confirmation of what Oldecop, one of Luther's hearers at the time,

has told us (Koestlin-Kawerau I, p. 106), concerning the methods used in exegetical lectures of that time, but we watch the inner man of the Reformer develop in an astonishing manner. Especially in the "Scholien" we see the lightning flashes of the great themes of the following years much more frequently and distinctly than in the lectures on the Psalms. In the "Palatina" Ficker also found a copy of Luther's expositions on the Epistles to the Hebrews which Luther had treated in lectures (1517). At Elberfield there is also in the possession of Dr. Krafft a manuscript containing the expositions of Galatians, begun by Luther October 26, 1516. This, however, is not identical with the printed commentary on Galatians of 1519. It is to be lamented that both of these are as yet not published, and that the exposition of the Epistle to Titus, which belongs in this collection, is not yet discovered.[14]

Concerning the methods used in these exegetical lectures of Luther we can say the following, thanks to these discoveries: Luther had the respective biblical book, which he was about to explain, printed as a separate book for himself and his audience, its lines widely separated and its margins very broad (the text used was that of the Vulgata). Between the lines and on the margin there was room for all kinds of comments. "These explanatory comments," says Ficker, "that briefly give the meaning of the words and the intention of the text are according to the medieval habit either interlinear or marginal. The comments placed above the individual words give in the shortest form the explanation of the word and connect in strictly logical fashion words and phrases. Whereas in the marginal explanation such notes are given that pertain to the strictly linguistic, more than that, to the sense and the context, to the ultimate proofs of the word-explanation: proofs, explanatory, circumscribed, religious and ethical, historical and literary notes and references to contemporaneous history are found here." To be distinguished from these two kinds of "Glossen" are the "Scholien." These

are longer and are attached to the explained texts co-ordinately. Ficker remarks: "These 'Scholien' of the 'Magister' are, as a rule, not intended as explanations for the individual phrases; in arbitrary manner they are based on one passage and ignore the other, and they do not always adhere strictly to the sequences of the verses. Their object lies more in the representation of the main thoughts, and they are more examining and systematical. Here was—also in this respect Luther had his predecessors—the place for mental excursions, which he used at the same time for clear definitions of the basic problems of religion and for arguments with his opponents, or which, through the strength of his ethical energy, he used for practical explanations and uses of the scriptural truth. Sometimes they reach out far, and later on they concern themselves more and more with contemporaneous history." Combining "Glossen" and "Scholien" Luther created the text which he gave in his lectures to the students.

New material from *the years following this period* has made us better acquainted with seven fields of endeavor in Luther's work: his exegetical lectures, his own debates, his translation work of the Bible, his homiletical and catechetical endeavors, his large correspondence, and his table-talks.

Of his *exegetical lectures* we now know the following, either for the first time or in their revised text: Operationes in Psalmos of 1519-1521 (Weim. ed. vol. V); the Lectures on Deuteronomy of 1523-1524 (Wei. ed. vol. 14); Prælectiones in Prophetas minores of 1524-1526 (Wei. ed. vol. 13); Lectures on Ecclesiastes of 1526 (Wei. ed. vol. 20); Lectures on First Epistle of St. John of 1527 (Wei. ed. vol. 20); Declamationes in Genesin of 1527 (Weim. ed. vol. 24); Lectures on Epistles to Titus and Philemon of 1527 (Wei. ed. vol. 25); Lectures on Isaiah of 1527-1530 (Wei. ed. vols. 25; 31, 2); Lectures on First Epistle to Timothy of 1528 and Lectures on Song of Solomon of 1530 (Wei. ed. vol. 31, 3); Lec-

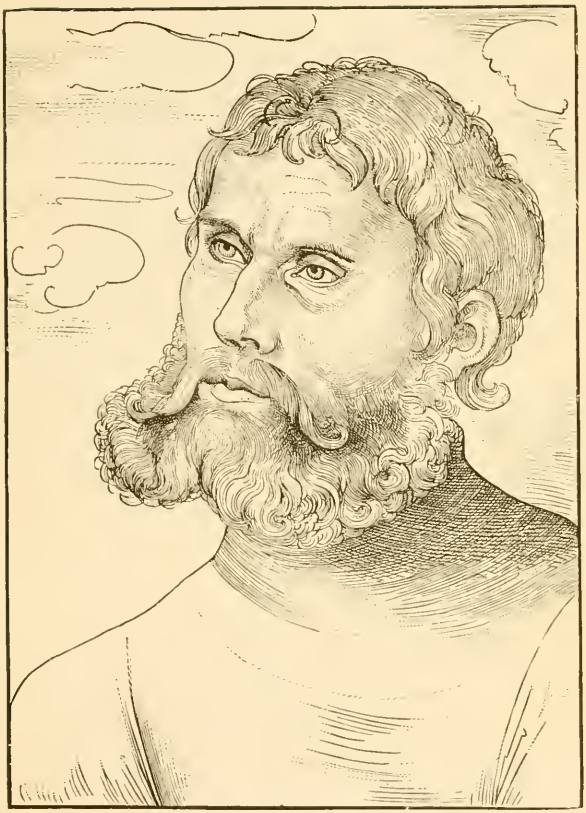
tures on Galatians of 1531 (Wei. ed. vol. 40, 1); Annotationes in aliquot capita Matthæi of 1536 (Wei. ed. vol. 38); Lectures on Genesis of 1534-1545 (Wei. ed. vols. 42-44). Then there are the expositions of single Psalms (for ex., 110, 68, 118, 119, etc.), of different biblical passages (for ex., Magnificat, Isaiah 9, Isaiah 53, Ezekiel 38-39, Daniel 12, I Kings 7, etc.) and explanations of entire biblical books in the German language (I Peter of 1523, II Peter and Jude of 1523-1524, Jonah and Habbakuk of 1526, Zechariah of 1527, etc.) which from the very first were meant for wider circles. The publication of these lectures, in as much as they were completed by means of the manuscripts, do not only enable us to form a more clean-cut conception of Luther in the midst of his academical activities, but they also put us in a position to compare that which he dictated to his audience with the form in which some of these lectures were published by his pupils.

A hitherto almost unknown province in the work of Luther were the *debates* which he arranged while professor at Wittenberg. Kawerau writes on this as follows: "We were acquainted with the theses which he prepared for these debates (for ex. Wei. ed. vol. 9), but concerning the course they took, we had only a fragment given us by Valentine Loescher and a complete copy of one debate from the year 1644, which Mollenhauer in 1880 extracted from a manuscript at Dorpat." We are indebted to the early deceased Paul Drews,[15] who by dint of tiresome investigations in manuscripts at Muenchen and Wolfenbuettel discovered much new material for this branch of Luther's activity, so that in 1895 he could give us copies of twenty-four debates from the years 1535-45, among which was such an important one as the

debate with Agricola and against the antinomistic doctrine he advocated.

Concerning Luther's *homiletical work* it can be said that, thanks especially to G. Buchwald's happy discoveries, a huge mass of manuscripts consisting of copies of Luther's sermons has been piled up. Buchwald[16] already in 1884 has given us the sermons which Luther preached at Koburg in 1530, and in 1884-1885 the sermons from the year 1528, 1529 and 1537. Then in 1888 eleven sermons from 1539, and finally in 1905 those from 1537-1540, as Aurifaber had them, from a manuscript in Heidelberg. In the Weimar edition there are 22 large volumes filled solely with sermons, and in 10 further volumes sermons constitute more or less the bulk of their contents. It is wonderful how in these Luther gradually assumes gigantic proportions as a preacher. On the other hand, we may also say with Kawerau that the copies of these sermons, with their promiscuous use of the German and Latin—a defect due to the scribes—and with their abbreviations and unsatisfactory references, do not make the best of reading. One can also readily admit that the loss would not have been unsustainable, if some of these copies had perished. But, because most of the sermons, given into print by the hands of his pupils, show a much revised form, it is of great value that, through these copies, we approach very closely to the sermons just as Luther spoke them. They also contain many a helpful hint concerning contemporaneous history and personal reminiscences of Luther.

We are now also enabled to see more clearly into Luther's *catechetical work*. It was Buchwald again who made accessible a multitude of manuscripts pertaining to this field. It is of special note that he published



Luther as 'Junker Joerg', 1522.
A Woodcut by L. Cranach.

for the first time the three series of catechism-sermons of 1529, which constituted the foundation for what today we call the Larger Catechism. More particulars concerning this in the fourth part of this essay.

We always knew what great care Luther devoted to the *translation of the Bible,* concerning not only the preparation of the first editions, but also the revisions of the later ones. But since Thiele and Pietsch have published Luther's own manuscripts of his translations, we clearly see his first rendition and all the corrections he made as a result of further reflection. The third volume of the "Deutsche Bibel," being a part of the Weimar Luther edition, even contains the minutes of what we would call the Committee on Bible Revision.

Not a little was accomplished in these thirty-five years in the way of discovering *letters* from the pen of Luther. The principal ones were already collected and edited by De Wette in five volumes (Berlin, 1825-1828). To these Seidemann in 1856 added the sixth volume, which brought to light a multitude of hitherto overlooked or unknown letters; this, together with his addition of an index and many erudite notes, made the production doubly useful. After Seidemann in 1859 had published another volume of Luther's letters, and especially since the Director of Archives at Weimar, Burckhardt, had brought out his valuable "Luther's Korrespondenz" in 1866, in which he attempted for the first time to collect even the letters addressed to Luther, it seemed, as if it were now only possible to collect stray letters here and there. Nevertheless, Kolde in 1883, in his already mentioned *"Analecta Lutherana"* offered a surprisingly great number of unknown Luther letters, and each of the following years added a few more. Kawerau counted ninety numbers

for the period between 1883 and 1908 (Theol. Studien und Kritiken, 1908, p. 354), exclusive of the thirty letters which the aged Burckhardt contributed to the "Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte," volume IV, pp. 184 ff., and the new material in Enders', shortly to be mentioned, "Luther's Korrespondenz." In the year 1913 P. Flemming contributed five unknown letters from the Roerer manuscript at Jena (Theol. Stud. u. Krit., 1913, p. 288 ff.). O. Clemen published another unknown letter of Luther to Gabriel Zwilling from 1526 (Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch., vol. 34, pp. 93 ff.), while O. Albrecht already in 1907 in "Theol. Stud. u. Krit.," pp. 564 ff., had made an investigation concerning the collection of Luther letters by Michael Stiefel.

In 1884 Enders took up anew the plan of Burckhardt, and contributed to the Luther edition of Erlangen the part entitled "Luther's Korrespondenz." With this he accomplished a stupendous piece of work. Ten volumes were completed, when death, in 1906, claimed this unassuming man and thorough student of Luther, a man who was ever ready to assist, as we can vouch for from our own experience. Kawerau followed up with the eleventh volume, edited according to the principles laid down by Enders; a little later on he published the twelfth to fourteenth volumes, so that soon the entire work will be completed. Kawerau was exactly the right man to continue the work of Enders, not only because he had published in 1884 and 1885 the letters of Justus Jonas, but because, together with Kolde he must be reckoned as the most thorough and all-sided student of the history of the Reformation that the Church possessed in these thirty-five years. He proved this not only through his excellent "Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenrefor-

mation" (third volume of "Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte," by W. Moeller), but also through the great number of his instructive articles on the different characters of the Reformation in Hauck's "Real-Enzyklopaedie," and through his far-reaching collaboration in the Luther edition of Weimar. Because the German letters of Luther, which had been taken into "Luther's Korrespondenz" (Luther edition of Erlangen, volumes 53-56), could not be included again in this work, and because the first volumes of "Luther's Korrespondenz," notwithstanding its many supplements, are nevertheless incomplete, it will devolve upon the Weimar edition to offer a final edition of Luther's letters.

In the meantime, alongside of the endeavors of Enders and Kawerau, the 21st volume of the St. Louis Luther edition (St. Louis, Mo., 1903-1904) with its German translation of the Latin by A. F. Hoppe, renders satisfactory service. By dint of Enders and Kawerau there appeared "Luther's Correspondence and other contemporary letters" translated and edited by Preserved Smith (volume I, 1507-1521, Philadelphia, 1913), who had already in his "Life and Letters of Martin Luther" (1911) 30 letters of Luther translated into English. The readers will in all likelihood be acquainted with "Letters of Martin Luther," by Margaret A. Currie, published in New York in 1908. Professor Dau, of St. Louis, has also translated a number of Luther letters for the *Theological Quarterly,* of which he is editor. Without much merit are T. H. Lachmann's "Technische Studien zu Luther's Briefen an Friederich den Weisen" (Leipzig, Voightlaender, 1913).

Much has been done in our period in the way of uncovering the *table-talk* of Luther. Before 1883 there existed

only three works having any bearing on this, the collection of Foerstemann-Bindseil, Bindseil's Latin work, and a very valuable publication of Seidemann.[17] Foerstemann-Bindseil does not make one directly acquainted with the original table-talk, for it only offers a painstaking reprint of Aurifaber's collection of 1566, continually compared with other collections. It is, therefore, only a secondary or tertiary source of the table-talks.[18] The collection of Lauterbach, edited by Bindseil in Latin in 1863 ff. contains more original material. Yet even this was not of first hand, and was built up on different foundations. Entirely different was the manner in which one became acquainted with the original form of table-talks through Seidemann's publication. This is a real day-book. It begins with the 1st of January and concludes with the 25th of December of the same year. Almost day for day, Lauterbach had jotted down his notes, partly in German, partly in Latin, just which language happened to be used at the table at the time of the conversation. In further searches, Seidemann, who was a veritable genius in this, found a great deal of new unprinted material. Not only did he discover some new notes of Lauterbach, but also a diary of Veit Dietrich, Luther's intimate companion for many years, and a collection that very likely belonged to the papers left by Johann Matthesius, pastor of Joachimsthal. Added to that, he found different collections of secondary value, however. Yet even these contained many new things and stood closer to the original than the collections of Aurifaber and Rebenstock.[18] Before Seidemann could publish all his finds, he died. So it fell to the lot of our period to accomplish important things in this direction, for not only was the result of Seidemann's researches to

Luther in the year 1523.
Copper engraving by Daniel Hopfer.

be edited, but the task remained to search farther for material that might still be accessible.

The latter was done first, and with good success. H. Wrampelmeyer found a collection of notes from the pen of Luther's friend and companion Conrad Cordatus, in Zellerfeld, and published it in 1885. As a matter of fact, the title of his publication[19] is very misleading, for according to it one expects to find just as trustworthy and original notes of Luther's table-talks for the year 1537, as one does for the year 1538 in Lauterbach's diary. But this is by no means the case. Cordatus, who since 1532 was pastor at Niemeck, near Belzig, and, therefore, fully three German miles from Wittenberg, could hardly have kept a daybook on the table-talks of Luther, as often as he may have come to Wittenberg, and as faithfully as he probably recorded everything he heard Luther mention across the table. As a matter of fact, this collection of Cordatus only in one part contains notes by Cordatus himself; the other part consists of copies, extractions, as reviews from the notes of other table companions; these again do not all date back to 1537, but really to an earlier year. Cordatus concluded his collection in 1537.[20] At that, Cordatus was inclined to be brief and to condense everything, so that, as a rule, we have mere excerpts from him instead of literal rendition.

We must, therefore, rank the publication that the member of the higher consistory at Muenchen, Preger, gave us three years later far higher as a true source.[21] For here we have, thanks to Preger's care in the matter of handling the text, a truly, and in every respect, chronologically arranged, continual series of conversations from the end of the year 1531 until late fall of 1532. Four

years later, a publication by Georg Loesche appeared[22] that has further enriched our knowledge of Luther's table-talk. Using Seidemann's handwritings, he published a manuscript from Nuernberg, which, though indirectly, is traceable to Johann Matthesius. But this lost a good deal of its value, when, ten years later, Ernst Kroker in a manuscript at Leipzig found trustworthier reproductions of the notes of Matthesius, the most important parts of which he published in 1903.[23] How much had already been accomplished through these findings, and how much closer the actual table-talk had been brought us! And since the endeavors of Seidemann several other written collections were found, especially the one in Veit Dietrich's own handwriting. Even Wrampelmeyer contributed another part out of a manuscript, that is traceable back to Cordatus, and is now kept at the Royal Library at Berlin (1905).[24]

Not only was it deemed satisfactory to make all these sources accessible through publication, but it was also made the beginning of submitting them to critical examination. Preger especially proved himself a very keen-witted critic in the introduction to his publication of the notes of Schaginhaufen, mentioned above. But more than others, Wilhelm Meyer[25] busied himself with this object in a special investigation (1896). He shed light especially on the work Lauterbach performed in arranging and grouping the table-talks.

In America Preserved Smith[26] acquainted different circles with the questions connected with Luther's table-talk, through his critical study, New York, 1907.

In the last decade, commissioned by the committee for the Luther edition of Weimar, Ernst Kroker devoted himself to an intensive and critical study of the manu-

scripts at hand. At three different times (1908, 1910, 1911) he dwelt upon the subject in the "Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte." In these essays he points out the relations existing between the collection of table-talks of George Roerer and those traceable back to Matthesius, the relation existing between Roerer and Schlaginhaufen, and finally that between Roerer and Veit Dietrich. All of this collected material, equipped with excellent introductions, is made easily accessible to every one in the edition of Weimar by Kroker since 1912. The first volume offers the notes of Veit Dietrich (pp. 1-308 with app., pp. 309-330), also the collection of Veit Dietrich und Nicolaus Medler (pp. 331-614), the second volume, the notes of Schlaginhaufen (pp. 1-252) the collection of L. Rabe (pp. 253-272), and the first part of Cordatus' collection (pp. 273-672). The coming volumes will include the last part of this collection, notes of Weller and Lauterbach of the years 1536 and 1537, Lauterbach's diary for 1538 and the one for 1539, finally the conversations for the year 1540 as written by Matthesius, and the other collections of the forties. The conclusion will consist in the publication of the undated table-talks. The last volume is to explain the origin of Lauterbach's and Aurifaber's large collections. An alphabetically arranged index of the individual conversations and a complete index of the names and events will facilitate the ready use of these volumes. A large series of volumes will be necessary to complete this gigantic task, but then a foundation will be laid upon which all further attempts in this direction can be built. Then also can it be ascertained how much of the offensive and vulgar, which Roman Catholic writers seem to find in the table-talks, is really to be attributed to Luther, and in what connection these

outspoken statements were made. So it is already proven that the saying: "Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang, der bleibt ein Narr sein Leban lang" is not to be traced to Luther, but is of Italian origin. In short, when their publication in the Weimar edition has been completed these table-talks for their greater part will only afford a true estimate of Luther's personality.

An attempt, well worthy of mention, was made by Kawerau in the Braunschweig-Berlin edition of Luther (vol. VIII, pp. 105-308) to create a "Life of Luther as told by Himself," by taking Luther's memoirs, as they were contained in the table-talks, and linking them with the events of his life. It is to be lamented, however, that in this case Kawerau could only consider the German text of Aurifaber's collection. Preserved Smith and H. B. Gallinger did the same, at least in the first part of their choice collection of table-talks, 1916. But their collection had the benefit of the newer publications in this subject. It is based especially on the conversations, as they are published by Kroker and in the Weimar edition, and so has entirely supplanted the old English edition by W. Hazlitt, which since 1848 has been often reprinted. By means of a good introduction they also prepare their readers for the reading of the table-talk. A good introduction into the table-talks, intended for the common people, is the booklet by K. Bauer, "An Luther's Tisch" (1911). Like Smith and Gallinger, he assembles in it at first the home and table companions of Luther, then gives biographical sketches of them, discusses the subject of the conversations and the handing-down of the table-talk. At last on the strength of systematically grouped selections it forms an estimate of Luther's personality.

Luther in the year 1525.
Painting by Cranach.

III. NEW EDITIONS OF LUTHER'S WORKS

It was of the greatest importance, when in 1883 the Prussian secretary of the interior allowed himself to be influenced by Koestlin and others, to guarantee the means necessary for a new critical edition of Luther's works, and to entrust its leadership to the already mentioned Knaake, who was to work in connection with a special commission created for this purpose. Even though at that time no one had a true conception of the wealth of material that has been discovered in the course of time, yet, now a storehouse was held in readiness for all new findings, and the possibility that the work would remain uncompleted through lack of funds was ruled out. It will ever remain a splendid page in the history of the House of Hohenzollern that it called upon students of theology, history and German culture and supported so generously their united endeavors toward completing a national edition of Luther that was commensurate with his importance. And it was a true sign of the religious as well as of the national bent of mind that prompted church and science, city and nobility, authorities and individuals to stand together and guarantee the production and sale of this work. In the proclamation of 1883 it was said:

"The great national memorial whose early stages should adorn the coming fête day can not be what it should be unless all of Protestant Germany cheerfully does its part. The word of the 'greatest man of the people, the most popular character Germany ever possessed,'[27] as one of the famous men in Germany once

called Luther, can not only appear before the nation in all its monumental greatness, it must, like once when it set aflame the hearts of all the people, be heard by and become the warp and woof of the people. The new complete edition of Luther's works must be accorded a reception among the German people that is in proportion to its work. It is the duty of the German *Church* and German *Science* and of her highest dignitaries and her best representatives, to grasp the importance of this edition fully and wherever possible to endorse it warmly to others. It is the duty of Protestant *princes* and the German *government* to supply the means, so that this complete edition will never be absent in those places where the treasures of German literature and science are collected and kept. It is the duty of all protestant *cities* and of their *authorities* to arrange it so that the writings of Luther in their original form are made accessible to every class. It is the duty of that Christian *nobility* of the German nation, that Luther once called to his aid in his reformatory labors, to accord its practical co-operation to this national memorial. It is the duty of all the friends of German language and German literature, of German culture and German thought, to work everywhere for the spread of these works of Luther, that will always remain the emblem of the German spirit."

This proclamation was not in vain, as the ever-increasing number of subscriptions testified. The edition has been called the *"Weimar Luther Edition,"* because it was printed by Herman Boehlau at Weimar. Or, it has been called the "Kaiser Edition," because the German Emperor sponsored the undertaking from the very start. Today 52 parts of it are complete in 60 volumes, to which must be added the volumes containing the German Bible and the table-talk (at present five volumes), which are counted separately. It is not free from errors, and at different times the controlling spirits did not prove themselves above bias, but, taken all in all, it marks the completion of a stupendous piece of work, commensurate with the period of the most intensive research in the life

of Luther and certainly its pinnacle of achievement. Much was also accomplished here in the way of printing, something which only he can appreciate who knows a little of the typographical difficulties in connection with a work of this kind, and who, like the writer of this, has had an opportunity to look into the different phases of the proof sheets.[28] At the head of this undertaking at first stood Knaake, then Pietsch, and at the present time Drescher, all of whom were subordinated to the greater commission. Among the collaborators I shall name Kawerau, Walther, Buchwald, Cohrs, Albrecht, N. Mueller, J. Ficker, Thiele, Koffmane, Kroker and Brenner. After the appearance of every single volume Kolde wrote a valuable and thoroughly critical review in the "Goettinger Gelehrte Anzeigen." Brieger, of Leipzig, did the same for a number of years in "Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte." The researches, especially in regard to the volume containing the catechisms, extended far beyond the limits of Germany.

Beginning with 1883 editions have also been published to meet the requirements of the cultured *home,* for the great critical Weimar edition can never be common property, for the reason that it is too voluminous and expensive, and because of its entire arrangement. I shall only direct attention to the three volumes, "Luther als ein Klassiker" (Frankfurt, 1883), to the three small volumes, "Martin Luther ausgewaehlt und erlaeutert durch R. Neubauer" (Halle, 1903), to the volume "Luther's Werke, ausgewaehlt fuer das Volk und herausgegeben von J. Boehmer" (Stuttgart, 1907). All of these are excelled by an edition of Luther, undertaken by Buchwald, Kawerau, Koestlin, Rade, Schneider and others, printed by C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn in Braun-

schweig (later in Berlin, therefore generally called the Berlin-, formerly the Braunschweig-edition), a work that at the present time is in its second stereotype edition. Its introduction takes special cognizance of the situation, as created by Janssen. Here we read: "Today it is being attempted not to cause external strife among the German people, but internal. With a dazzling show of scientific research, the ground is being undermined, from which every German hitherto drew his nourishment. The attempt is being made to draw down into the mire the men and their intellectual works for which other nations envy us. But, you German people, will not allow yourself to be robbed of them, as long as you understand them; you will understand them as long as you read them; you will read them as long as you retain the freedom that Luther pried loose for you." This edition completely deserves the widespread recognition it has received. It offers the Latin writings in a good German translation, gives short historical introductions, contains explanatory notes, and represents, especially since two volumes have been added containing the two writings, "De Votis Monasticis" and "De Servo Arbitrio," a selection through which one may actully learn to know Luther as he lived. Above all things, no German Lutheran parsonage in America, if it holds no larger edition, should do without the services of this selection.

It is by no means to be considered as a competitory undertaking, when that careful investigator of Luther, Otto *Clemen,* who since 1896 through articles concerning the different phases of the life and work of Luther, steadily was making a reputation for himself, published a new edition of selected works of Luther by Marcus and Weber at Bonn since 1912. By reason of

the circumstance, that it contents itself with four volumes (however, a fifth volume is planned as a complement), and that it reproduces the original form of the writings, even in regard to the spelling, punctuation and form of type, it has become an edition for students that satisfied a long felt want. In the reproduction of the texts and in its concise introductions it is sometimes even more correct than the edition of Weimar (at least as far as the first volumes of this work are concerned). Neither is the selection published at Muenchen, which is still in the first stages of its making, strictly speaking, a competitory undertaking. It is since 1914 edited by H. H. Borcherdt, under the collaboration of Barge, Buchwald, Kalkoff, Schumann, Stammler and Thode, and is introduced by Thode's separate essay, "Luther und die deutsche Kultur" (Muenchen 1914). It wishes to place the emphasis upon the writings that are of value to history in general, and to history of culture, and offers many illustrations. From the fifteen volumes, according to the plan of its editors, we have the second before us. It contains the principal writings of 1520 and in its most excellent introduction of one hundred and eighty-six pages a fine description of the procedure of Rome against Luther up to 1520 from the pen of that thorough student, Kalkoff.

In America the thanks of the church is due to the Synod of *Missouri* for the fact that it has undertaken and successfully completed an edition of Luther's works. Since the Pastoral Conference of the Western District of this Synod decided in 1879 to undertake a republication of the old Luther-edition of Walch, this work began. Anno 1880-1881 the first two volumes put in their appearance. Only later on it became apparent what a

mighty undertaking had been attempted. For the antiquated Walch-edition did not only need to be reprinted, but its German volumes had to be compared with the original, its Latin volumes had to be newly translated for the greater part, and all of the introductory paragraphs had to be remolded to meet the requirements of the knowledge of the day. Since 1885 Prof. R. F. Hoppe devoted his entire time and energy to this undertaking. Easter 1910 he wrote the preface to the last, the twenty-third, volume, which contains the valuable "Hauptsachregister," also the index for sayings, together with corrections and appendices.

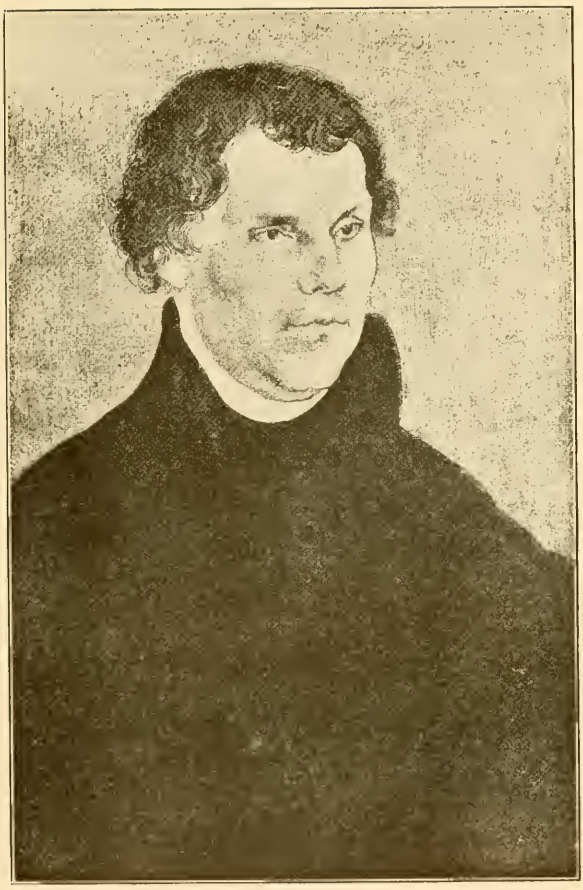
This edition should be prized more highly in our land than is generally the case. True, it does not meet the requirements of a learned Luther-scholar, but at the same time what an accomplishment the translations reveal! For example, Kawerau has the following to say concerning Hoppe's translations of the Latin letters: "I have examined a part of the newly translated letters of Luther, and have found them almost always reproduced in faithful and trustworthy manner, even there where difficulties were to be overcome." (Studien und Kritiken, 1908, p. 336). Hoppe's work concerning the table-talk (vol. 22) especially has been widely recognized. As late as 1906 Tschackert said: "The best edition, until now, the one of Foerstemann and Bindseil, is far excelled in point of critical selection and careful use of the known sources (i. e., published sources, for the manuscripts were inaccessible to Hoppe) by the work of Prof. Hoppe in the renewed edition of Walch" (Kurtz, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Leipzig, 1906). Even if the following statement of Kroker (Weimar edition, Table-Talk, vol. 2, p. 32) must be restricted by the fact that Hoppe (fol-

lowing the lead of Wrampelmeyer) allowed himself to be deceived in his estimation of Cordatus' collection, it is still of importance what Kroker did say, after Haussleiter before in the "Theol. Literaturblatt' had laid special emphasis on his demand for a recognition of Hoppe's accomplishment: "But the translations are so excellent that one can only lament the fact that the rejuvenated Walch could not translate Dietrich's notes, Schlaginhaufen's book, Lauterbach's diary for 1539, the Matthesian collection of 1530 and other notes in the same manner (like the collection of Cordatus and Lauterbach's diary for 1538); among the footnotes also are several propositions, well worthy of mention, for improvement of the text."

The English-speaking branch of the American Lutheran Church also busied itself with the works of Luther. First of all Dr. *Lenker,* who devoted his entire time, strength, tireless energy, and burning zeal to the great task of offering Luther in the English language, must be mentioned. To date fourteen volumes of the Standard Edition of Luther's works, edited by him, with the collaboration of others have appeared—J. Schaller of the Synodical Conference, Gohdes of the Ohio Synod, and Voigt of the United Synod of the South are especially to be mentioned in this connection. These volumes comprise: two volumes of the commentary for Genesis, two volumes of explanation of the Psalms, one volume on the Epistle of St. Peter and St. Jude, one volume of catechetical writings, five volumes of sermons on the Gospels (Kirchenpostille), and three volumes of sermons on the Epistles. Lenker's interest was mainly practical. It was his aim to bring out the hidden treasures of Luther pre-eminently useful for the practical side of

the ministry. It was his aim that the Lutheran exegete, preacher, and catechete availing himself of the English language as a medium would be kept within sane confines through the study of Luther, and that our English-speaking Lutherans would have sane and edifying reading matter. And, indeed, this is an aim worthy of the highest endeavor. It is an entirely different question, whether this work is well planned, whether it is placed on a scientifically satisfactory basis, and whether it is harmoniously executed. But even if this work lacks in many directions, the Lutheran Church in America still owes Lenker a great debt for his labors.

On account of these wants, it is to be welcomed with great joy that five members of the Pennsylvania Ministerium (C. M. Jacobs, A. T. W. Steinhaeuser, W. A. Lambert, J. J. Schindel, and A. Steimle) have united for a new attempt. In those volumes, *"Works of Martin Luther with introductions and notes"* (first volume appeared in April, 1915), published by A. J. Holman Company at Philadelphia, we find an accomplishment, well worthy of mention and excellently considered in all its aspects. Notwithstanding the fact that it generally follows the Braunschweig-Berlin edition, a decided improvement over this edition is to be noted in this, that it has elected to give the different writings in their chronological, instead of their systematic, order. Only in this manner the gradual development of Luther's personality and of his conception of the truth will be understood. The texts, which the translators used, are, thanks to the reproduction in the edition of Weimar and the appearance of Clemen's edition, far more trustworthy than those of the Braunschweig-Berlin edition The translations are good, without being too literal. The introduc-



Luther in the year 1526.
Painting by Cranach.

tions, and notations and literary notes, are correct and satisfactory. There only remains the wish that these volumes will find a ready sale and will be really studied. They should receive the place of honor in every parsonage of our English-speaking Church and should not be missed in any city library. The preface of the Braunschweig-Berlin edition concludes with the following words: "Thus we have undertaken in common labor, German people, to place your Luther into your hands, so that you might learn to know, prize and love him; so that you may take inspiration from his writings, that are imbued with the Holy Spirit, to keep the faith, children, even as your forefathers kept the faith, when you hear the great hero of the faith speak of those things that made him strong and fearless. Learn to know your Luther, not covered with political halo, not the commanding figure, hewn out of solid granite, but Luther as he worked and lived, in his greatness and in his weakness, in his zealousness and in his overzealousness, in his wisdom and his abruptness. Thus allow his word to touch you, if it admonishes you and urges you on, if it strikes you and raises you, if it shows you the reflection of yourself, as you once were, as you are now, and how you shall be, if you but remain true to your German mind and German nature." If you substitute the word "Lutheran" for the word "German," it will also serve literally for this new English edition of Luther.

IV. RESEARCHES ON PARTICULAR PHASES OF THE LIFE AND THEOLOGY OF LUTHER

In as much as we are about to make mention of those valuable individual investigations which have been made during the last thirty-five years in the life and theology of Luther, we shall name them in their chronological sequence, and the career of the Reformer will furnish us with the links that will connect the one with the other.

1. Luther's Youth

Luther at all times held his *father* in high regard. The life of Luther's father, in spite of many investigations, has always been unclear in many respects. Catholic writers sometimes even portrayed it as possessing flagrantly immoral propensities. W. Moellenberg[29] therefore in 1906, after carefully examining the papers of the Mansfeld mine at Eisleben and the council minutes of the city of Mansfeld, which are now in Magdeburg, shed new light on the life and doings of Hans Luther, especially on his possessions and his trade, so that we now are much better acquainted with his gradually increasing wealth and prominence. That the maiden name of *Luther's Mother* was not Lindemann as we still sometimes read owing to a statement of Rector Schneidewin of Wittenberg to that effect, but rather Ziegler, Knaake proved in a lengthy article in "Theologische Studien und Kritiken" (1881). *When* Hans Luther's son Martin was *born,* whether in 1482 (according to a

bronze tablet on Luther's grave, which, allowing Luther sixty-three years, two months and ten days, points to the seventh of December, 1482) or 1484 (as Melanchthon would have it), or 1483, is something that can not be ascertained beyond doubt, as is generally conceded. G. Oergel (1889) put in a plea again for 1482, and was inclined to accept the seventh of December as the birthday of the Reformer.[30] However, Drews points out that Luther himself, in a letter of the sixth of December, 1532, mentions that he celebrates his birthday on St. Martin's day, and Kawerau, through an article in the "Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift," seems almost to prove beyond doubt that Luther was born in 1483, notwithstanding Luther said himself as late as spring, 1543, *"nullus est certus de nativitatis tempore, for Philippus et ego are one year apart in our views."* (Kroker, Luther's Tischreden, 1903, no. 625.)

Since 1497 Luther attended *school* in Magdeburg and Eisleben. If one desires to know something of the knowledge purveyed to him at this time, he must acquaint himself with the writings of Kaemmel, Mueller, Knepper, Schmid and Bauch.[31] Concerning the "Brethren of the common life" (also called "Nullbrueder"), to which order his teachers in Magdeburg belonged, one may be excellently informed by L. Schulze's article in Hauck's "Real Enzyclopaedie," III, pp. 474-507, together with its lengthy supplements in Volume XXIII, pp. 260-269. Schoengen in his book, "Die Schule von Zwolle" (Freiburg, 1898), deals especially with the schools of this order. We also direct attention, as far as Luther's school years at Mansfeld, Magdeburg and Eisenach are concerned, to the first volume of O. Scheel's work, "Martin Luther. Vom Katholicismus zur Reformation" (Tue-

bingen, 1916), in which, by means of the school statutes of the late Middle Ages, the teaching and the learning in the preparatory schools of the universities is minutely described, although here the error is also made that the author in unwarranted and arbitrary fashion pictures the conditions better than they in reality were. E. Schneidewind, 1883, in his booklet, "Das Lutherhaus in Eisenach," offers much concerning the *Cotta family,* that so generously welcomed Luther into its midst. Buchwald also gives a happy account of Luther's stay here.[32]

2. Luther at the University

In the summer of 1501 Luther matriculated at the *University of Erfurt.* Today we have a much truer and detailed conception of the conditions prevailing at Erfurt at that time, and of its teachers than the one obtained through F. W. Kampschulte's "Die Universitaet Erfurt in ihrem Verhaeltnis zu dem Humanismus und der Reformation" (1858 and 1860), which, however, is still worthy of notice today. This change was primarily brought about by Oergel, Kolde, Bauch, Hermelink and Scheel.[33] Hermelink has taught us better to understand the teaching of the Humanists, which naturalized itself also in Erfurt. He pointed out, above all things, that it was by no means an offshoot of the Italian Renaissance movement, but, on the contrary a relatively independent reform endeavor on German soil, which, although desiring to be unhampered by the guardianship of the clergy, still remained entirely within the pale of the Mediaeval Age, and was in nowise modernly pagan and materialistically inclined. With these Humanists Luther could be related and yet remain a Catholic.

Hermelink has also made us better acquainted with

Luther in the year 1533.
Painting by Cranach.

the theological and philosophical teachers of Luther, Jodocus Trutvetter and Bartholomaeus Arnoldi of Usingen,[34] and through them with the theology that was taught Luther. He locates them as Occamists, whose leader at this time was Gabriel Biel in Tuebingen,[35] and whose philosophy they represented. It was known as the *via moderna*. Thanks to Hermelink, we are also in a position better to understand these German Occamists, and through this Luther's own development, in as much as he proves that their teaching was in nowise identical with Nominalism. "It did not deny that the genera and the intelligible cosmos were realities or entities. It was much rather by nature methodical and 'erkenntnis-theoretisch.' It attempted in critical spirit to distinguish between the province of faith and the province of science by means of a grammatical-terministic logic, derived from stoic influences, in order to make place for a theology that was both positivistic and Christian, respectively ecclesiastical. Thus, instead of being the opposite of realistic ontology, it was merely a theory about the way of theological thinking, which linked itself everywhere with the Platonic-realistic metaphysic." Of the text-books that formed the basis for study in the university especial mention must be made of those named by Ficker in his edition of Luther's commentary on Romans (pp. civ), to wit, those by Trutvetter: Breviarium dialecticum, Erphordiae 1500; Summulae totius logicae, Erphordiae 1501 (Summa in totam physicen, Erph. 1514); those by Usingen: Compendium totius logicae, Lipsiae 1500; Parvulus philosophiae naturalis, figuralis interpretatio in epitomam philosophiae naturalis, editio secunda, Basiliae 1511. Scheel has even found manuscripts in the libraries of Stuttgart and Munich that contain a great share of

the lectures Luther attended as a student and baccalaureus artium at Erfurt, so that at last a much more trustworthy and plastic conception of his university work can be arrived at than before.

Kolde has shed light upon all the different phases of the religious life in Erfurt. Especially did he throw the searchlight on the preaching at Erfurt when he made us better acquainted with the sermons on indulgences and other subjects by the Augustinian Genser (or Jenser) of Paltz, and when he published from a manuscript a sermon Genser preached at the beginning of a semester at the university in October, 1482. We are now able to appreciate what Luther said later on, although sermons were regularly and often heard in Erfurt, that during his stay he had never heard a Christian sermon.

3. Luther Enters the Monastery

Oergel has shed more light on the circumstances connected with Luther's entrance into the *monastery,* when he tells how during the year of 1505 the university was visited by quite a number of dire happenings. He tells how suddenly a classmate of Luther died of pleurisy; how just at this time the plague and spotted fever made many victims at Erfurt, so that during the summer a panic occurred among the students. All this helps to explain why just at this time the serious thoughts of death and judgment tormented the soul of Luther, even though the principal motive of his entrance into the monastery always remained the inner restlessness and desire for salvation, of which Hermelink excellently says that the western church always kept this restlessness and desire present, nurturing the same for pedagogical reasons and at the same time satisfying it.

The monastery which Luther entered belonged to that division of the Augustinian order called *"Observantes."* Kolde's already mentioned writing concerning the German Augustinians and Johann von Staupitz enables us to understand the peculiarity of these "Observantes." We find that the Augustinians in Germany were divided into four provinces since 1299, to wit, the Rhenisch-Suebian, the Bavarian, the Thuringian-Saxonian and the one of Cologne-Flanders. When, in the fifteenth century, a reformation among the German Augustinian monasteries became more and more imperative, Henry Zolter, enthusiastic for the abandoned strictness in monasteries, succeeded in combining together, for the purpose of *observing* strictly the old Augustinian rules, as an independent union, five monasteries, the one at Himmelspforte, near Wernigerode; the one at Magdeburg, at Dresden, at Waldheim, and at Koenigsberg, in Franconia. These five were called "Observantes," in contradistinction to the bulk of other Augustinians called "Conventuales." Andreas Proles energetically carried on Zolter's plan, so that his union, now called the congregation of Proles, or the Saxonian, or the German, was fully recognized in 1496, in spite of the fact, that he and the monasteries that held with him by the General-Vicar of the order were once temporarily placed under the ban. More than that, its claim for an independent vicar was granted, and it was considered completely on par with the four German provinces mentioned before. Proles was furthermore successful in winning twenty-five other monasteries in addition to the five already named, for the purpose of observing the old rules of the order more strictly, because not a few of these twenty-five belonged to the most important ones in all Germany, and even of

the Netherlands; for example, the ones in Muenchen, Nuernberg, Erfurt, Gotha, Magdeburg, Dresden, Wittenberg, Nordhausen, Muehlhausen in Alsace, Bonn, Coeln, Haarlem, Dordrecht. This "German Congregation" at the time of Proles' death, in 1503, constituted a real power. Proles' successor as General-Vicar was the well-known Staupitz, who was elected at the meeting in Eschwege on the seventeenth of May, 1503, according to the wish of Proles. Thus through his entrance into the monastery at Erfurt Luther became one of the "Observantes," a member of the "German Congregation," and the noble-minded Staupitz came to be his first superior in Germany.

Since Denifle had cast so many aspersions on Luther's *monastery* life, it became necessary to study this period of the life of the Reformer more thoroughly. Outside of the brief answers made to Denifle by Kolde, Seeberg, Haussleiter, Brieger, Koehler, Harnack and Walther,[36] we have here especially to consider Benrath, and even more so Braun.[37] Because Denifle contends that since 1515, certainly since 1519, "the vow of chastity had proven itself irksome to Luther," and that the real motive for his defection from Rome is to be found in his weakness for carnal sins, Benrath takes into consideration the entire period from his entrance into the monastery up to his marriage. He discloses beyond contradiction the manipulations and distortions of facts exercised by Denifle, and permits us to see for ourselves how Luther during his monastery period outgrew the Mediaeval Church, and how the fundamentals were first laid in his own life. He shows that the position which Luther finally won over against the Roman Church can only be understood as the slowly matured result of religious de-

Luther in the year 1535.
Painting by Cranach.

velopment, a development, that had to pass through all stages of alleged certainty of gaining salvation and the bitter knowledge that external guarantees do not allay doubt until it found its way to the truly blessed certainty of God's paternity through Jesus Christ.

Braun visualizes the internal development of Luther up to 1521, wherefore we must return to his work later on. We must, however, in this connection, consider that Braun very definitely brings out that it was not weakness for carnal sins that contaminated Luther all these years, and brought about the end of his relation with Rome. On the contrary, it was his eminently tender conscience, the very opposite of the "Kautschuk-conscience" trained by the Church, his conscience which would not allow itself to be soothed either through the at that time customary reference to the "Monk's Baptism" (*i. e.,* to the power of order to make up for sins) or through sacramental magic, but which would trouble itself before and after dispensation of grace because of the consciousness of inherent lusts, until the New Testament conception of grace, with its mercy of God, that reckons no sins to the faithful, came into its own, and through faith in it peace entered the heart. Braun says "the Luther personality that becomes apparent to us through his theological endeavors is none other than the one we already know from his mode of life. His unbending veracity that is never guilty of distortion of justice, that by the scholastic distinctions of sins of omission, of weaknesses, of excusable ignorance, the scholastic assertion of the validity of good intentions, and whatever the rest of softening phrases, may be called, does not allow its moral convictions to be confused, but abides by the dictum of the conscience and calls sin sin,—his excellent psychological understand-

ing of the methods of divine pedagogy, finally the unconditional dependence on the grace of God, because of which, following in the steps of Paul and Augustine, he finds nothing of good in himself, but attributes all of holiness, all of virtue, all of good to the freely given mercy of God,—all of these constitute the spiritual seal which Luther's theology bears. They are the proof that God was with him."

4. Luther's Journey to Rome

In the year 1508 Luther was called to the University of Wittenberg. Haussleiter gives us an idea of the university at this time, whereas Bauch sheds light on its relation to Scholasticism and Haupt illustrates how much the universities of today owe to the founding of Wittenberg.[38] As is known, after one year at Wittenberg, Luther was called back to Erfurt (probably by his order), where in the fall of 1509 he entered as Sententiarius.

It appears that during this time at Erfurt he made his journey to Rome. As to time, motive for going and route of travel nobody seems to know very much. Hausrath, Tuerk, Elze, Kawerau, Todt and especially Boehmer in our period treat of his journey.[39] Hausrath, in using the guide of the pilgrims to Rome at that time, the Mirabilia urbis Romæ, made the interesting attempt to interpret Luther's sojourn at the different places of grace in Rome and his scattered notes concerning these by means of this old guide. It was interesting, but not trustworthy. Much less does the work of Hausrath bring us to a decision as to the time, whether in the winter of 1510-11 or in the winter of 1511-12, or as to the motive for going, whether as a representative of the seven convents rebelling against Staupitz or as a mediator upon

the wish of Staupitz. Tuerk and Kawerau devoted themselves to gathering every possible expression of Luther that might have a bearing upon his journey to Rome. Elze, Todt and Clemen have performed a service for us in connection with discoveries as to the route of travel. However, Boehmer has given us the main production.

In his work not only are all the sources that come into consideration carefully and critically examined, but additional sources bearing upon important issues are used. For Boehmer does not only give us those passages of the very rare Alphabetum of the Augustinian hermit, Felix Milensius, that have reference to the matter reviewed, but he also enriches our knowledge of the trouble between Staupitz and the seven revolutionary convents and furnishes us with a reproduction of entries for 1508 and 1509 in the diary of the General of the Order, Egidio, and two important communications of the Council at Nuernberg addressed to the General and the Chapter of the Augustinians at Koeln.

On the basis of this we have pretty conclusive evidence that Luther started his journey in fall, say in November, 1510, and that Luther was in Rome during January, 1511. We are now also better informed as to the motive of the journey. Luther actually did go to Rome in the interest of the seven revolutionary convents. Staupitz, in harmony with the General of the Order, Egidio, also wished to reform the "Conventuales" (cf. above) and with this end in view to unite for the first the Augustinian Province Saxonia with the "German Congregation." The majority of the twenty-nine "Observantes," namely, twenty-two, agreed to this and recognized the union; but seven convents under the leadership of the Frankish District Vicar of Kulmbach, Simon

Kayser, raised their voices in protest. These were the convents of Nuernberg, Kulmbach, Koenigsberg in Franconia, Sangerhausen, Nordhausen, Sternberg in Mecklenburg and Erfurt. They were afraid that, instead of the ideal of the "Observantes" being assimilated by the "Conventuales" through this union, the levity of these would find access into their own ranks. When all other means had failed they did not hesitate to send a delegation to the General of the Order at Rome, in order to nullify the union and make their ideal secure. As a member of this delegation the monastery at Erfurt elected the monk, Martin Luther. He could hardly have been the *litis procurator,* but only the *socius itinerarius.* For the former position an experienced man was required, one who understood the procedure at the Roman See—perhaps the distinguished monk of Nuernberg, Anton Kress, was entrusted with this position. At their arrival in Rome the commissioners brought their matter to the Procurator in January, 1511, but a deaf ear was turned to them. So after a stay of four weeks in Rome they started their journey homeward, their mission unfulfilled. Even to-day we can read an entry into the General's diary for January, 1511, which says: "Appellare ex Legibus Germani prohibentur." But the journey to Rome brought no new light or peace to Luther's soul, not even the ascent of the Scala Santa of Pilate.[40]

At the same time Boehmer gives a minute description of Rome at that time, where every statement made is carefully proven by the literature of the age, and where, for the description of the immeasurably sunken state of morals, the not altogether unknown yet not very thoroughly used book, "The Lozana Andaluza," of Francisco Delirado, Venice, 1528, is made use of. Boehmer also

for the first time offers an attractive suggestion as to what course Luther's career took immediately after his return from Rome. A second delegation sent by the Nuernberg Convent—likely in the name of the others—which brought a communication of the Nuernberg Council to the General of the Order succeeded in so far, that an actual union between the "Observantes" and the other Augustinians in Germany was no longer expected, and that from now on the only requirement was that all parties recognize in Staupitz their Vicar General, otherwise having nothing in common. This new proposition was discussed at Jena in the middle of July, 1511. Here again the seven "Observantes" protested. But, the main object had been achieved and the danger that because of the union the levity of the "Conventuales" might find entrance among them, avoided; so Luther and Johann Lang, it seems, went over to the side of Staupitz. Because he now knew that he must be in opposition to the majority of his brother-monks at Erfurt, Luther would have been glad to be called back again to Wittenberg by Staupitz. In the spring of 1512 he had already moved there and it was probably in May, 1512, that he represented the Convent of Wittenberg in Koeln at the occasion of the assembly of Congregations.[41]

5. Luther Made Doctor of Divinity, 1512

At the assembly in Koeln some resolutions were formed that were important for Luther's future. He was not only named as sub-prior of the Wittenberg Monastery, in which capacity it devolved upon him to take the leadership in the course of study there, but he was also called upon to become a postulant for the title of Divine Doctor. One can readily see in this, that at this time already

Staupitz intended that his tried disciple should take the place in Wittenberg, which he himself as yet occupied, the "Lectura in Biblia auf das Augustinerkloster gestiftet."

Concerning the solemn ceremony when Luther was made a Divine Doctor,[42] on the 18th and 19th of October, Steinlein published a valuable investigation, in which he describes the procedure of the promotion, the meaning of being a Doctor, in itself as well as in reference to Luther—whom it gave a strong impulse and secure footing, whereas it did not influence his relation to Holy Scriptures, as this had been a most intimate one before—and also the prominence which Luther in different periods of his activity accorded to his being a Divine Doctor.

6. Luther's Development from 1512-1517

Of what nature was Luther's theological development between 1512 and 1517, *i. e.,* how did Luther's mind gradually become free from Rome and how did he become an evangelical Christian and an evangelical theologian? The Roman Catholic Denifle, above all others, as has already been briefly stated, placed this question in the foreground, and Grisar held fast to similar assertions that strongly incriminated Luther, and scattered them broadcast in the widest circles. One cannot answer this question without at the same time answering the other question, namely, in how far the later statements made by Luther himself about his theological development, and about his monastery life and the vulgarly Catholic beliefs, which obtained in Luther's time, are trustworthy. Denifle, Grisar and Paulus prefer simply to ignore these as being entirely devoid of historical interest, sometimes they even attempt to hold them up as proofs of

a strong streak of dishonesty in Luther, whereas the Protestant theologians contend, while admitting that Luther's memory failed him in some single instances, that they in the main, as far as his theological development is concerned, are entirely trustworthy. Among the later Scheel is probably the most ready to admit that Luther's memory played him false in some material respects. But he at the same time is a strong opponent against the Catholic assertions and holds that all decisive features related by Luther are correct.[43]

So it must be considered a historical fact what Luther tells of his "*Klostererlebnis.*" It was really "auf diesem Turm," *i. e.*, in the tower room of the cloister at Wittenberg, where Luther for the first time gained the evangelical understanding of Rom. 1, 17, and as a result peace for his soul. It is characteristic for Grisar's mind and method when starting from a very doubtful text, that he attempts to prove that Luther found this important and saving explanation in the privy; but even if he were right, what would it matter? Kawerau and Scheel on this point strike Grisar home in a way deserved by him.[44] We are not able to say with certainty at what time this new understanding of the term "*justitia Dei*" was given to Luther, but Scheel, it seems, dates it correctly in the year 1512-13.

Furthermore, it is a fact that Luther soon after his Doctor-promotion began to work on the *Psalms* and that in these lectures, extending from 1513-1516, we have an important milestone of his inner development. Without placing himself, after a critical examination, in opposition to the system of doctrine of the Church, still there are moments when rays of true evangelical faith break through these lectures, especially can we more and more

gain glimpses into a soul that has found its peace in that righteousness of God that makes all sinners just. Outside of Hering it was Dieckhoff especially who busied himself more intimately with these lectures.[45]

Already, before completion of the lectures on the Psalms, Luther in 1515 began with the *Epistle to the Romans*. This commentary has been well treated by its first editor, Johannes Ficker[46], in an extended introduction. Here we see the lightning flashes of the great themes of the following years much more frequently and distinctly than in the lectures on the Psalms and we watch the Reformer's inner man develop in an astonishing manner. Here Luther also proves himself a lover of German and a scholar in the best sense of this word. Ficker says (l. c., p. LII) : "Luther is the first German professor who, in the academic lecture room, made use of his mother-tongue, and it is the lecture on Romans, in which he used it to a large degree. How direct and personal this fact alone made this lecture! Further, it is also the first lecture of a German theologian, in which the words of the original of the New Testament, as soon as this was accessible, were spoken and explained. Here Luther stands before us a scholar strictly scientifically trained, making use of the foundation laid by the past as far as they prove trustworthy to him and at the same time utilizing every progress in knowledge and scientific tools as soon as they are at hand, well versed in the application of the method and the whole apparatus of the Humanism." Meissinger[46] makes us acquainted with the meaning of "Glossæ" and "Scholiæ" in Luther's lectures. We are given a characterization of his lectures on the Psalter, Romans and Hebrews, an investigation concerning the position Luther took over against the Vulgata, and con-

Luther in the year 1542.
Painting by Cranach.

cerning his consideration for the Hebrew and Greek text —Luther took up the study of Hebrew before Greek; the Greek New Testament (Edition of Erasmus) he used for the first time in 1516 in connection with Romans IX. Meissinger further attempts a list of Luther's first library.

The whole question of Luther's *theological development* is taken up by Dieckhoff, J. Ficker, W. Braun, A. W. Hunzinger, H. Hermelink, Scheel, Kawerau, J. v. Walter, A. V. Mueller; besides these investigations certain passages in Loofs's History of Dogma, Boehmer's "Luther in the light of recent research," and O. Ritschl's History of Protestant Dogma must be compared.[47] Unhappily we cannot enter into details at this time. It is apparent, however, that there were four main factors that played the influential part in Luther's theological development during these years: *Occam's* school of theology of which Luther was an adherent, his reading of *Augustine,* his study of *Paul,* and the German *mysticism.* Hermelink in 1912 includes everything that has been accomplished during the last years, when he writes in his History of Reformation (Krueger, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, second volume, p. 63), as follows: "We must begin in all likelihood with the *Occam school of theology,* with which Luther first became acquainted. He will always have this school to thank for the strong accentuation of the will in the idea of God, for the beginning of his understanding of faith as building upon positive facts of revelation and mistrusting reason. The moral undertone in the way of salvation, as the School of Occam taught it, aided in multiplying his inner restlessness. The tension between reason and faith, self and the will of God is intensified, and, for the time being

solved, through the reading of *Augustine,* whose earlier writings, tinged with New-platonic ideas, Luther at that time preferred. The mysticism that he gained from these, together with that complete metaphysical ethical dualism that has its origin in ancient philosophy, he brought into full play in his exegesis on the Psalter. A further means of consolation is the *fides incarnationis* that is found in Augustine, *i. e.,* the stress laid on the importance for salvation of Christ's life and passion. This is emphasized even more through the study of Anselm and Bernhard (the 'happy trade' of sin and grace between Christ and the soul). Finally, his opposition against the moralism of his time that tended toward Pelagianism was another chain that bound Luther to Augustine."

"What Augustine wrought in the mind of Luther was immeasurably intensified through the study of *Pauline* ideas and Paul's opposition against nomism and ergism in every form. In the Pauline idea of ΣΑΡΞ Luther finds his experience with concupiscence confirmed. Now, 1, justificatio=absolutio=non imputatio peccatorum; 2, gratia is identified as justificatio=misericordia dei= nova nativitas, quæ dat novum esse. Semper adhuc justificamur et in justificatione sumus. Simul sum peccator et justus; 3, fides=fides evangelii=relativa promissioni, per quam solam deus justificat. Synergistic statements are still to be found in the lectures on the Psalms, and more rarely in the commentary on Romans. *German mysticism,* Tauler and Theologia Deutsch especially (new edition by Mandel), helped strongly to overcome this. The pantheistic conclusions of mysticism were completely crowded into the background through Occam's idea of God, intensified through the Gospel. The last link in the chain, not the first—as was formerly supposed from state-

ments of Melanchthon—was the certainty of salvation, whose clear expression Luther had wrought out during his study of Romans."

Herewith the main factors in Luther's development are correctly mentioned, even though Walter is right when he advises, not as yet to conclude this investigation. Braun's work has been the most instructive among those alluded to. Mueller's book one time aroused a great deal of excitement. He directs a very sharp attack against Denifle, and on the strength of a very wide knowledge concerning mediæval theology, attempts the proof that Luther's doctrine of concupiscentia, etc., did not have its origin in Luther's "soiled" mind, but that much rather it is an expression that dates back to a once celebrated old school that had the sanction of the Church, and which even at Luther's time had many adherents on the Catholic side, so that in reality Luther brought no "innovation," but only a "renovation," and that the papacy of that time is much rather to be called the "apostate" instead of Luther. However, Mueller did not prove very satisfactorily that Luther was acquainted with this theology. Nevertheless, it was pretty confounding evidence and challenged to closer investigation in this direction.

7. Luther and the Indulgence

Luther could hardly have begun with his lectures on Romans, in which he fought his way to the absolute certainty of salvation when Pope Leo gave his sanction to the *Mainz Indulgence* on the 31st of March, 1515. It had always been accepted heretofore that the Pope gave his sanction to this Mainz Indulgence, in order that half of the funds might place Albrecht in a position to defray the huge sums paid to the Roman See for his confirmation

as archbishop of Mainz, which method of procedure would have been scandalous enough, and which would have furnished plenty of proof that the indulgences were a means unscrupulously employed to fill the treasuries of the Vatican. But the investigation of the dealings of the House of Fugger, the Pope's banker, that transacted all of the papal business at that time in Germany, Hungary, Poland and Scandinavia, by the Catholic Alois Schulte[48] disclosed very clearly that the papal business was even much more sordid. Not only did Albrecht have to pay the Pope the sum of 12,000 Dukaten (= ca $60,-000) as regular fee for confirmation as archbishop of Mainz; but it was hinted to him that he could never unite the archbishopric of Mainz with the bishopric of Halberstadt and the archbishopric of Magdeburg without paying a further sum of 10,000 Dukaten (about $50,000); only then could the rules forbidding such unification of offices be set aside. And Albrecht conceded. So in the end the much-mooted simony was committed by the Pope himself! In order to gain the sums for this unholy business it was Rome itself who intimated to the young Albrecht that the best way would be to sell indulgences in Mainz and Brandenburg, send half of the money thus acquired directly to Rome, the other half indirectly as a payment for the sanction of three bishoprics existing under one head! It is fairly astonishing what conditions Alois Schulte discloses in his book.

What was the nature of *indulgences?* On this subject also many disclosures have been made in the last thirty-five years. We name especially the works of Bratke, Dieckhoff, Brieger, Ditterle and the one by the Roman Catholic Paulus.[49] Although Protestants were at first a little too much blinded by Catholic statements according

Luther in his later years.
Painting by Cranach.

to which these indulgences were much less harmful than they were once thought to be, and that they only excused the purchaser from punishments demanded by the canons of the Church, yet in the end it was acknowledged that the old definitions were in the main correct.

The Church as a matter of fact did distinguish theoretically between the purchase of an indulgence and the absolution as declared by the priest in Confession. The latter could be an absolution from culpability, or of the punishments exacted by the Church, or of the divine punishments for sin in time and eternity. But because this absolution was often granted by priests who accompanied the indulgence-vendors, and thus occurred at the same time when a purchase of indulgence was made; and because from the end of the 14th century the indulgences were also called indulgences for punishment *and culpability* (pœna et culpa) and praised as an atonement of man with God, it can be readily understood that the common people generally were of the opinion that on these occasions they had the opportunity, not only to receive indulgence for punishments, but also for culpability. For the common man did not know that theoretically the Church had bound together freeing from culpability with Confession and Absolution; he could only form his judgment according to what he saw. What he really saw was something that savored strongly of the open marketplace, a business where Confession played a very much subordinated role, especially since *attritio* was considered enough. Although Tetzel, who was commissioned for his special trade, and of whom Paulus treats in a monogravure (1889),[50] later after his acquittal, taught that the indulgences "served solely in the case of punishment of sins that had been repented of and confessed," yet his

instructions read, outside of indulgence for punishment of sin, of the *plenaria omnium peccatorum remissio,* and without repenting one could buy an indulgence upon the presentation of which any promiscuously chosen priest was forced once during lifetime and in the hour of death to grant to the professor a general absolution.

In the same way an indulgence for the dead could be had, for "as soon as the money clinked in the bottom of the chest, the souls of the deceased friends forthwith went into Heaven," was, according to Prierias, actually preached as "mera et catholica veritas." Therefore, it was no trivial issue on which Luther's battle began; it was an institution, representative of the entire system which brought it forth, and because of whose abuses the entire world suffered.

Concerning particularly that indulgence connected with the Castle Church at Wittenberg, P. Kalkoff treats in his "Ablass und Reliquienverehrung an der Schlosskirche zu Wittenberg" (1907).

8. Luther's Ninety-five Theses

To the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Luther nailed his Ninety-five Theses. As far as these are concerned, in addition to the already mentioned writing of Bratke, the publications of Koehler and Brieger come into consideration.[51] Koehler presents all the documents from the 11th century to the Indulgence Decretal of Leo X on the 9th of November, 1518, that are necessary for the understanding of the indulgence controversy, so that every one can form an estimate for himself. And then he arranges the Ninety-five Theses so that, alongside of the individual theses, he can give Luther's own explanation in the "Resolutiones" and the

contradictions of the Roman theologians. Brieger, on the other hand, has given close study to the systematical arrangement of the Ninety-five Theses.

Because the systematic arrangement is by no means so clear at the first glance, we shall here reproduce it, as Brieger thinks it to be (according to Hermelink, Geschichte der Reformation, 1912): The first seven sentences constitute the introduction and offer the fundamental definition of *repentance* (the life-long pœnitentia vera interior that is demanded by Christ is distinguished from the sacramental act of Penitence: it finds its expression in mortificationes carnis, Theses 1-4), that of *punishment* (5), and that of *culpability* (6-7). The first main passage, Theses 8-29, treats of purgatory in a double respect. First, the relation between the idea of pœna canonica and pœna purgatorii (8-19): negatively 8-13 (morituri legibus canonum mortui iam sunt), and affirmatively 14-19 (spiritual interpretation of purgatory, which serves to increase love and decrease fear). Then the relation of the pope to purgatory is investigated in 20-29: negatively in 20-24 (the pope can only excuse from the punishment he himself has exacted, therefore not from the punishment of purgatory), and affirmatively in 25-29 (the papal suffragium is dependent upon the will of God). The second main passage (30-80) deals of the *indulgences for the living.* Theses 30-55 contain contents and subject-matter of the indulgence sermons (30-35 criticism of indulgence sermons, 36-40 positive declarations beginning with the premises of the Catholic doctrine of penitence; 41-52 the right form of indulgence sermons and the one solely wanted by the pope; 53-55 its non-value compared with the other parts of divine service). Proceeding from the practical into the dogmatical, we are

brought to the discussion in Theses 56-66 on the *thesaurus*. The criticism in 56-59 and the positive declaration concerning the Gospel, and the merit of Christ as the real claves and thesaurus ecclesiæ (60-62) are taken together in ringing anti-theses (63-66). In conclusion the authorities of the Church are reminded of their duty in further pairs of anti-theses (67-80). The Ninety-five Theses are concluded in twofold manner: in 81-91 Luther gathers all the old protests from the laity against the hawking of indulgences and in 91-95 in ringing words about the evil motive for purchasing indulgences escaping from the salubrious suffering in repentance—he leads back to Theses 1-4.

9. Rome's Procedure Against Luther, 1517-1520

The action of the Roman Church against Luther that followed and that ended with his excommunication, has taken an entirely new aspect as a result of the newer investigations. That Luther's opponents, like Tetzel, Wimpina, Eck *et al.*, already from the very beginning entered the lists against Luther without reserve, and were prepared, because of his doubts about the popularly accepted indulgence doctrine, to call him an heretic, to cause him to be excommunicated and to send him to the stake, all of this was known. But the opinion seemed to hold sway that Rome itself, as the highest ecclesiastic authority, had for years indulgently or indifferently withheld its judgment in the face of all these charges. Karl Mueller, Alois Schulte, and, above all others, P. Kalkoff,[52] place us in a position now to know that the Papal See, on the contrary, forthwith and in suspicious haste did everything in order, after the first refusal to retract,

The old Luther.
Woodcut by Joerg after Cranach.

to smash the new progressive with the severest Church punishment, and, that through diverse, and sometimes even politically influential measures, it worked to the end to get him into its power.

The results of these important discoveries are briefly summarized by Kawerau in the third edition of his "Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation" (Moeller, Kirchengeschichte, Vol. III, 1907). Kalkoff himself treats of this minutely and very excellently, besides his special studies in the Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte (Vol. 32), later published in book form, in his introduction of 186 pages for the second volume of the Muenchen-Edition of Luther, when he presents this entire period under the following headings: 1, The history leading up to the Indulgence Controversy (pp. 9-21), the controversy itself and Rome's first steps against Luther (pp. 22-44), the first Roman suit in the actual process (pp. 45-54), the summary procedure (pp. 55-69), the hearing at Augsburg (pp. 70-84), awaiting the bull carrying the ban (pp. 75-95), election and ecclesiastical armistice (pp. 96-114), the coming reformer (pp. 115-127), the second Roman process against Luther and the Elector (pp. 128-158), the opposition of the Elector and the great reformatory writings of Luther (pp. 159-186).

We shall briefly sketch the course of events. On the same day, when Luther nailed his 95 theses to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, he also sent a letter to the archbishop of Mainz protesting against the manner in which the indulgence traffic was carried on. The archbishop, however, fearing that Luther's opposition would seriously hinder the sale of indulgence and that thus his revenues would be severely diminished, reported the matter to Rome. His report was a letter of informa-

tion rather than of complaint against Luther. Pope Leo X. put the whole matter into the hands of Cajetan, his advisor in questions concerning faith and doctrine. That keen-sighted cardinal readily recognized that the point at issue in Luther's theses and other writings was not merely his rejection of indulgences, but also two other propositions of very great importance, (1) that natural man has no power to do what is really good and acceptable to God; (2) that the sinner is justified before God and saved alone through faith in Christ. Soon after, it was on December 8, Cajetan submitted his opinion on the whole controversy in his "tractatus de indulgentiis." The pope, however, thought it wise to wait for further information on Luther before he called him to account.

The desired information soon arrived. Tetzel succeeded in mobilizing his order, that is the order of Dominican monks, against Luther. The Dominican brethren lent their assistance all the more willingly because they were filled with envy, when they saw how Luther drew large numbers of students to Wittenberg, and how through him the Augustinian order forged ahead to honor and respect. Under the leadership of Doctor Rab, prior of the Monastery of St. Paul in Leipzig, to which Tetzel himself belonged, the Dominicans held a meeting of demonstration in Frankfurt a. O., and here decided vigorously to press the charge of heresy against Luther in Rome. And because they possessed a shrewd representative in Nikolaus von Schoenberg, the Dominicans at first gained their purpose. A papal letter was promptly addressed to Staupitz, Luther's superior, commanding him to force Luther to recant. Staupitz passed the demand of the pope on to Luther without any comment of his own. Luther answered May 31, 1518, "I teach men to trust in

Jesus Christ and not in their own merit, consisting of prayer and other good works. Because we can be saved, not of our own strength, but alone through the mercy of God. I can not refrain from this." It now seemed as if Tetzel's prediction would come true, that in a few months Luther would be burned at the stake, especially since it was at this time, that Luther published a German tract for the common people in which he attacked indulgences and declared that the vicarious death of Christ and repentant faith were the true way of salvation. Yes, with a letter and other expressions of his grace and good will, the pope even tried to turn the Elector of Saxony into a willing instrument of Rome, who would, either deliver Luther, or at least divest him of his professorship. And the Dominicans were even preparing to take him prisoner on his journey to Heidelberg, where he was required to appear toward the end of April before his superiors. But the Elector turned a deaf ear to all the allurements of the pope and more and more looked with favor on Luther and his teachings, and therefore provided most carefully for Luther's safety on his journey to and from Heidelberg. And in Heidelberg itself, where Luther was to be called to account before his order, and where he was to be delivered into the hands of the hangmen of Rome, in case he did not recant, by God's grace he was privileged to present the principles of his own theology in extended outline before his brethren of the Augustinian order and before the Dominicans who had come to hear him. Luther emphasized that true theology was not to be taken from the books of men, but out of the Book of God, Holy Scripture, and that the central thought in Holy Scripture was, (1) man can do nothing that is really good and so appear righteous before God; (2) there is no other way

by which we can be freed from guilt and the dominion of sin, than through faith in God's grace, faith in Christ, and Him crucified. And this "theology of the cross" Luther defended with such power that the Dominicans did not succeed in forcing him to deviate even a hair's breadth from his convictions. The brethren of his own order did not even think of insisting on a revocation, but in part even took sides with him.

Upon his return from Heidelberg to Wittenberg, Luther, in the beginning of June, published a defence and a careful exposition of his theses in Latin and sent a copy to the pope in order that he might be able to judge correctly if Luther really were a heretic. In an accompanying letter to the pope Luther contended that the fact that he was a Doctor of Divinity, an honor bestowed upon him through papal power, gave him the privilege to take part in public disputations on all great questions. He also made mention of the flagrancies of the indulgence preachers who, in the way they carried on their traffic, only seriously harmed the Church. Out of all this the Roman authorities heard but the one word, "I cannot recant." Meanwhile Luther appealed to the whole nation in a tract written in German, in which he insisted that he ought not be denounced as an heretic before his case had been carefully investigated and closed in these words, "I am not so presumptuous that I place my opinion above that of all others, nor am I so unmindful of my duty that I would sacrifice God's Word for the sake of the fables of men. Jesus Christ lives and reigns yesterday, today and forever." This confirmed the Roman authorities in their unwillingness to make even the smallest concession. The Dominicans again pressed their charges against Luther before the Papal See and insisted upon prompt

action against him. Commissioned by the pope, Sylvester Prierias, a Dominican, submitted an opinion on Luther's teachings on the basis of which it was decided that inside of 60 days Luther must appear in Rome personally to defend himself.

Luther and his Elector had hardly begun to take a stand over against the summons, when because of a third report by the Dominicans, a veritable network of lies, and also because of various political events, the authorities in Rome decided to employ even still harsher measures against Luther. Hardly 16 of the 60 days had passed, when without further notice Luther was declared a heretic and put under the papal ban in case he did not recant and immediately respond to the summons. Cajetan, who during these weeks represented the pope at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, was to get the dangerous Wittenberg monk into his power. Yes the authorities even considered the idea of proceeding against the Elector if he continued to shield Luther. It seemed as if Luther were lost. But God so changed the political situation that the pope suddenly was obliged to depend on the good will of the Elector of Saxony if he hoped to carry out his plans. And the Elector improved the situation to protect Luther. This was the reason why the sentence which had been passed was not carried out, and why Luther, instead of being obliged to go to Rome, was permitted to defend himself before Cajetan at Augsburg.

Thus we can see how promptly and energetically Rome proceeded against Luther, that the Dominicans took a leading part in the affair, and that Cajetan had already formed his opinion of Luther and his teachings before he met him at Augsburg. He is also the author of the Decretal on Indulgence of 1518, and he also provided for

its German translation and its wide circulation among the German people.

We see now especially what an important rôle *Elector Frederick the Wise*[53] played in the first period of the Reformation, and that Kolde did not estimate him highly enough. It is true that from the very first, when Luther was called to Heidelberg in order to be seized and sent to Rome, he accorded Luther protection, and it seems that he was finally and completely won over through Luther's great writings of 1520. Brieger says: "The stand of the Wettinian was of importance for the whole further development of the history of the world." Next to God, it is due to the religious conscientiousness and diplomatic firmness of this really wise "Fabius Cunctator" that the Reformation was not nipped in the bud. It is clear now, too, that up until now the activity of *Miltitz* which took place in this period has been entirely misunderstood. He, as far as his intrusion into Luther's trial is concerned, acted solely upon his own initiative, in order to hinge about a trial under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Trent. Because this had become pretty well known, it is easy to understand why Luther cared so little for the promise to keep silence that he gave Miltitz.[54]

That the *Disputation at Leipzig* had bearing on the procedure against Luther is a fact long ago established; Seitz, however, published (1903) this debate for the first time in its authentic form, and Brieger later (1909) dwelt on it in a special article.[55]

In June, 1520, the pope signed the bull "Exsurge Domine," in which Luther was threatened with excommunication. It was this bull that Luther burned on the 10th of December, 1520. We now have six sources relating the *burning of the bull.* They are: 1, the exhortation

to the students of Wittenberg of the 10th of December, 1520; 2, Luther's letter to Spalatin, written on the same day; 3, the paper, "Acta exustionis antichristianorum decretalium," written by a pupil and adherent of Luther, who was present at the burning, and who also heard Luther's speech during lectures the following day; 4, the report of the bishop of Brandenburg; 5, a sketch of Agricola of the 10th of December, who had been present at the burning—made accessible by Perlbach in 1907; 6, the sketch of John Kessler in his "Sabbata," who had also been present. On the strength of these sources it seems probable to Clemen that Melanchthon was the "magister quispiam haud incelebris" who kindled the fire, and that the words with which Luther committed the bull to the flames, which had not been clearly understood heretofore, were not: "Quia tu conturbasti sanctum domini, Ideoque te conturbet ignis æternus"—thus in the "Acta" —nor: "quoniam tu conturbasti veritatem dei, conturbat et te hodie ignem istum, amen"—thus with Agricola—but: "Because thou hast damned the truth of God, therefore He condemns thee to the fire. Amen." For that reason it is *condemnat* and *condemnasti* instead of *conturbat* and *conturbasti*.[56]

10. A Few Points of Luther's Theology, 1517-1520

It is known that during these affairs with Rome the thought that the pope was the *Antichrist* gained more and more prominence with Luther. In how far he was influenced in this particular through mediæval thoughts at this time Preuss explains in a measure. Preuss also recently offered a contribution toward answering the question how many actual mediæval beliefs still retained their influence on Luther during this period.[57]

The investigations concerning Luther's idea of *repentance* that are connected with his Sermo de pœnitentia (1518) can not be sketched at this time, but we at least refer to them,[58] and state that there is no contradiction when Luther, in 1518, puts the "amor justitiæ" first and the "pœnitentia" second, and when he later on maintains faith and love can only arise after the "terrores conscientiæ" have been produced, because the viewpoint is an entirely different one.

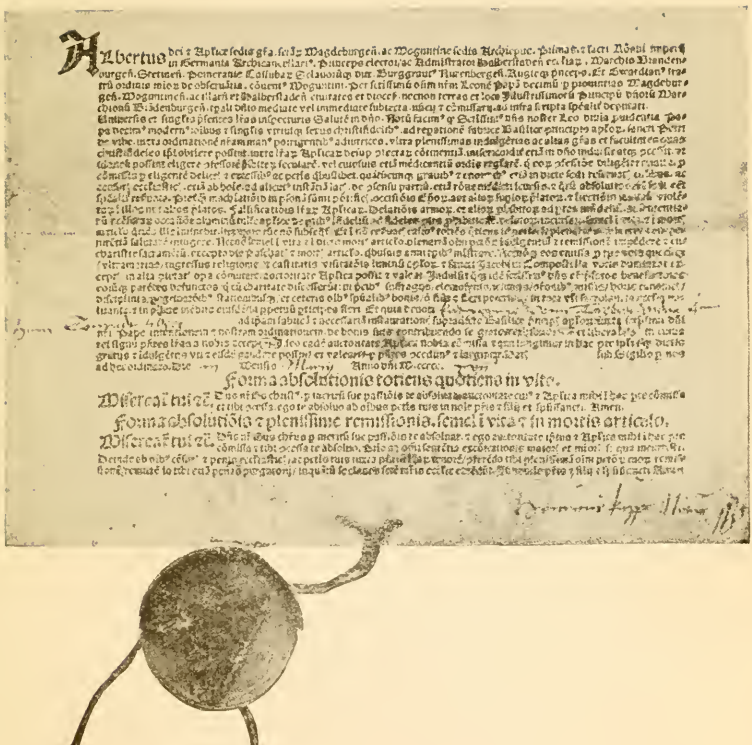
By means of Luther's first debate on ethical matters Stange aimed at emphasizing the truth, that in all of Luther's debates with Rome on matters of faith there were always at the same time ethical views of the deepest importance involved.[58]

In connection with the circumstance that on the occasion of the Leipzig Disputation a new idea or definition of the *Church* presented itself to Luther, Rietschel devoted himself to the question of Luther's definition of Church.[58]

Through the three great Reformation writings of 1520[58a] and through the burning of the bull, Luther severed all relations with Rome, before the real bull of excommunication (Decet Romanum Pontificem) was announced in Rome the 2d of January, 1521.

11. The Diet at Worms

We now understand much better the Diet of Worms and everything connected with it. After Kolde wrote his excellent monogravure in 1883, A. Wrede presented us with the complete minutes of the Diet whereas Brieger and Kalkoff devoted themselves especially to the study of Aleander's dispatches.[60] Already Kolde and later on Baumgarten had used these dispatches of the papal



Letter of indulgence for the benefit of building St. Peter's Church at Rome made out for the widow Katharina von Trebra at Gehofen and her sons, Hans and Konrad in the name of the archbishop of Mainz on the third day of March, 1517, signed by the notary public Heinricus Kappe. With seal attached.

nuncio Aleander as the main authority in Luther research work as far as this diet was concerned. Brieger presented these letters by using the manuscript of Trent and by comparing it with the original jottings of Aleander—in the archives of the Vatican at Rome—and thus answered the question as to their chronological sequence. But it was Kalkoff who in 1886 gave them to the world in a trustworthy translation, which because of their original text—half Italian, half Latin—made them accessible for the first time to wider circles. Written by an excellent judge of men who was directly influenced by the great events and who stood in the midst of the excitement and tension occasioned by the fight, entirely unreserved in his estimate of men and conditions, these dispatches of Aleander to the vice-chancellor, Julius de Medici, later on Clement VII, allowed their writer to give full play to his wagging tongue, and revealed unabashedly the inspirations of his unscrupulous wit, the arousing of his fanatical hate and the little expression of his egotism, of his wounded vanity, cowardice and meanness. Thus these dispatches bring home to us fully how severe a test these days were for Luther and the business of God's Kingdom. Aleander tried everything to prevent Luther from being invited to the Diet, and when this failed, he again used every means to make Luther's appearance as harmless as possible.

Kolde has closely investigated the Emperor's Herald, *Kasper Sturm,* who escorted Luther to Worms,[60] and so has made us acquainted with him for the first time. At the same time he has also made it appear probable that it was no other than this herald who wrote the first anonymous circular, which within a brief space of time reported Luther's trial.

Groessler, and later Spitta, have again broken a lance in behalf of the belief that Luther composed his hymn "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" on his way to Worms—cf. what follows.

The reports concerning the treating with Luther here can be found in the "Reichstagsakten" by Wrede, with which the work of Kalkoff is to be compared.

As is known, Luther defined his decisive answer as one *"without horns and without teeth,"* a responsum neque cornutum neque dentatum. Meissinger directs close attention to this answer in a special article. He is entirely convinced that Luther formulated his answer in Latin. Whether he repeated it in German we, according to Meissinger, do not know; at all events we have no German text. Luther thought in Latin when he used the expression, "neque cornutum neque dentatum." The official of the Emperor's court had required of Luther a "responsum non cornutum," having in mind with this an old word used in Logic, an expression of a "syllogismus cornutus"; therefore he wanted an answer that was devoid of ambiguity and sophistry.[59] Luther accepts this word and says: "Yes, I shall give you a responsum non cornutum, as you demand it." But because this expression *cornutus* reminds Luther of the student who, according to their initiation ceremony, had horns placed upon his head and then again taken off, when he lost his position, and because that student was also represented as a monster with huge teeth, Luther enlarges upon the words of the official of the court, saying: "I shall not only give you an answer devoid of ambiguity and sophistry, but one that is also lacking in the horns and teeth, known from the students' ceremonial." It seems, as if suddenly a mood of spirited recklessness possessed Luther. This explana-

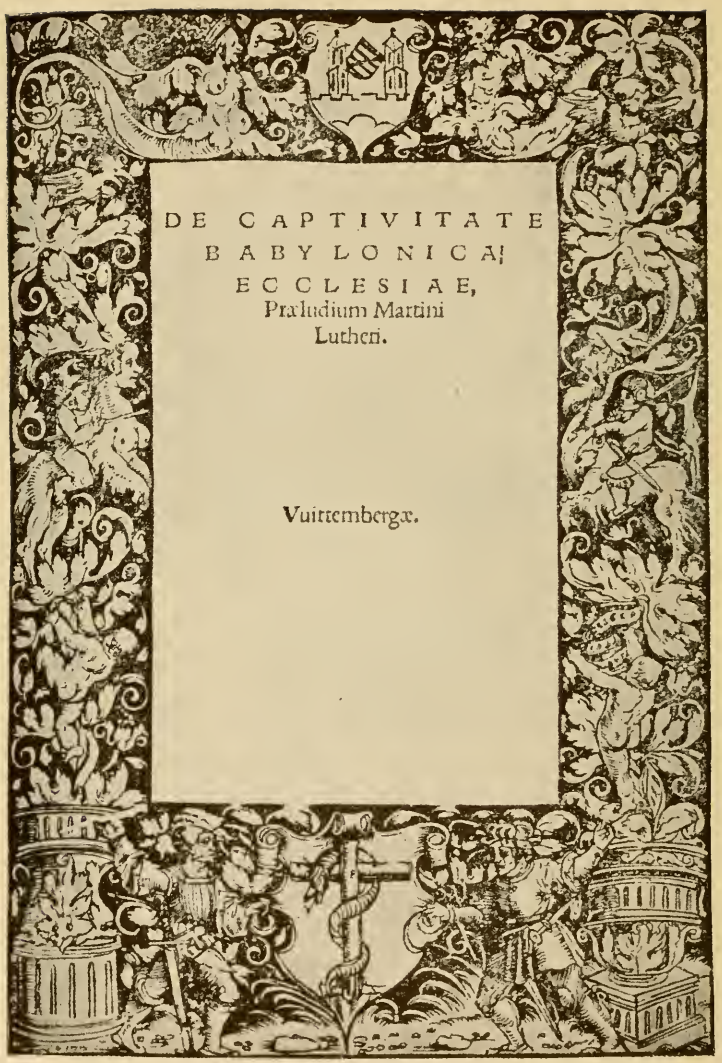
tion may appear strange at first sight, but it fits in well with the Spanish report on these events—"Reichstagsakten" II. 636, 20—in which we are told that Luther left the place in a joyous, even petulant mood.

The other and much more important expression used by Luther in his speech: *"Convictus testimoniis scripturarum aut ratione evidente,"* has given use to all sorts of speculations. In consequence of this the conclusion has been drawn that Luther at this time during the climax of his activity, recognized two entirely independent authorities or sources for the certainty of salvation, Holy Scriptures and natural reason. On the one hand it was inferred herefrom that Luther is the father of liberal Protestantism, whose source of knowledge is not only the Bible but also reason; on the other hand, that in this point lies the necessary progress made at the Wartburg since the days of Worms; that in the quiet of the Wartburg it dawned upon Luther, that the Bible could be the only source of the certainty of salvation. Only those can speak in this manner, who are but casually acquainted with the Luther of Worms, for the *sola scriptura* had been an established fact for him much earlier. At all events, it was a valuable service that Preuss rendered us through his investigation concerning this expression, published in 1909.[60] He gives the uses of *autoritas* (scriptura) *et ratio,* before Luther, then carefully analyses them by giving Luther's use of them up to 1521, according to which *ratio* not only represented to Luther, in general, the power to think, nor is it to him only a name for the method of thinking inherent to the natural man in contradiction to *spiritus, gratia, evangelium,* etc., but in reality also a name for logical conclusions, for logical deductions from acknowledged premises. In this last

sense he used this word at Worms:—he demands to be convinced through the words of Holy Scriptures or through such conclusions as necessarily must be deducted from what has been stated in Scriptures, before he will retract.

It is by no means certain what Luther's concluding remarks were. The well known word, *"Here I stand, I cannot otherwise; God help me! Amen,"* are only to be found in a few, not especially trustworthy, sources. Lately K. Mueller,[60] especially, investigated what the original might have been, after it had already been the object of researches—for instance, by Koestlin, Kolde, Burckhardt, et al. According to Mueller these concluding words consisted very likely in only, "God help me! Amen." These hardly sound as defiant as those formerly accepted, but the main thought in Luther's speech is not these words, but that which precedes them, and of that we are absolutely certain. Thus we see Luther now as the herald of a freedom of conscience conditioned alone by the Word of God, a man who has ushered in a new era.

How *Frederick the Wise* through masterful silence and delays in decisions protected Luther and how Aleander worked toward the proclamation of the Edict of Worms, can be understood best through the study of Kalkoff,[60] although Brieger has also done his share in this direction. Kalkoff has also described the influence exercised upon the events by Capito, and, therefore, by the Archbishop Albrecht. He also has proven that it was none other than the humanist, Herman von der Busche, who was the moving factor in the proclamation of the "Lutherans," through which the attempt was made to counteract the edict on the 20th of April. When the edict, under a questionable date, had been published with the appear-



Title page of the book 'Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche', 1520.

ance of having been accepted by the complete representation of the Empire,[60] Luther had long since been made a captive on his way home and carried to safety in the Wartburg in accordance with a plan of which he was informed already in Worms—cf. the letter which he wrote at Frankfurt to Cranach.

12. Luther on the Wartburg

Concerning the importance of Luther's sojourn *at the Wartburg* we have a good dissertation from the pen of the able historian Max Lenz.[61]

At the Wartburg Luther began to *translate the Bible* into German. It was W. Walther, who for the first time made us acquainted with what the declining Middle Ages possessed in the way of German Bibles in a methodically correct and very thorough manner. It was a truly monumental work that Walther gave us in his "Die deutsche Bibeluebersetzung des Mittelalters," 1889-1902. Together with 202 manuscripts Walther brings to light, from the 55 years, 1466-1521, 18 complete, printed German Bibles, 22 Psalteries and 12 printed productions of other biblical books. With this enough material was placed at our disposal to answer the question, whether Luther's translation was original work or only a revision of older German Bibles. A resumption of this not exactly modern question was again necessitated through the activity of the church historian Krafft in Bonn, 1883,[62] who contended that the latter answer was the correct one, and whose contention was at once spread all over by the Catholic Church as the absolute result of investigation—cf., especially the article on Dietenberger, that Wedewer wrote in 1884 for the Catholic "Kirchenlexicon von Wetzer u. Welte," and his monogravure of 1888 on

Dietenberger. The Catholic Church wished at the same time to hide from view the unwelcome yet absolute truth that the Catholic Bibles of the 16th century by Emser and Dietenberger are only thinly-veiled copies of Luther's translation made to conform to the Vulgata; it could even contend that this "deadly parallel" between the Catholic Bibles and Luther's translation was not a sign of their dependency upon Luther, but rather the proof that they had used the same source as Luther, namely, the German Bible of the Middle Ages.

This beautiful theory was then so thoroughly exploded by W. Walther[62] that we can hardly understand how an American church historian, who demands to be taken at face value and who contends that he can give an entirely different meaning to the Reformation by reason of his completely exhaustive study of all possible sources, dares to revive once more this old question in almost childish fashion.[63] Either he never made the acquaintance of Walther's production or he did not let its truth sink in deeply enough. For Walther shows how just in all those places, where the use of the mediæval Bible through Luther must have shown itself, granted that Luther used it at all,—for example, in difficult passages,—that just there entirely different translations are to be found, different not only as to the words used, but also as to the method of translation in respect to style as well as to syntax. Parallels only show themselves there where the renderings—especially in the historical books—might, because of their nature, be alike, without being copied. If Luther really was acquainted with the Bible of the Middle Ages, he did not use it. During the first phase of his translation work, and the one that gave the work its characteristics, he was not acquainted with it, as we can

state with a reasonable degree of definiteness. Only later he became acquainted with it, and then, as we can see now, in his revisions and corrections he occasionally supplanted his own word with one from it.

Keyssner[62] had already before Walther compared the three versions of the Psalters from 1524, 1528 and 1531 with each other, and in this way made interesting discoveries as to Luther's translatory activities. Kawerau says concerning this: "Keyssner shows how Luther, in his sympathy for rhythm in language, fairly searches for an expression at the beginning and end of a Psalm, that recommends itself because of its depth of meaning and euphony. He shows how Luther, with his intuitive sense for the right term, chooses from the synonyms that are at his fingertips, how he translates the alien illustrations of the Oriental so that they are understood by the German mind or how he entirely discards them, in order to create the Bible for the Germans."

Before Luther began with the translation of the New Testament he completed the first parts of his *Epistle and Gospel Postil.* G. Bossert and Koehler[64] have treated of the origin of this Wartburg Postil in thoroughgoing investigations; later on Koehler edited it as a part of the Weimar Edition in exemplary fashion (Vol. X, 1). In Vol. X, 2, he will give us a valuable introduction.

To the time of Luther's sojourn at the Wartburg also belongs his writing on the *vows of the monks.* Scheel[64] not only edited this work in German, as has been stated before, but he also furnished for it a very careful commentary, which played great havoc with the contentions of Denifle against Luther, based on this work of Luther.

So much of that which we know from Luther's Wartburg sojourn explains that Luther was by no means

entirely free from the vulgar *superstitions* of his time, although we also know that this circumstance does by no means entirely explain many of the things that come into consideration here. Just this influence that the vulgar superstitions exercised upon Luther, Klingner[64] made the object of special study. He shows how these ideas, by no means, caused him to appear contemptible, but how in reality his firm belief in the reality of the Devil, through whom God inflicts his salutary punishments upon man, and how his idea of the mightiness of Satan were for Luther a stimulant for a continual fight against evil, as he found it within and without himself, and an incentive for the good, for the perfection of others and himself. Therefore they are integral parts of the religious side of his personality and closely interwoven with the work of his career. How insufficient this view of Klingner may be, for according to Scripture the idea of the Devil is neither only a vulgar superstition nor only a term used in pedagogical interests, we nevertheless welcome his writing.

13. Luther and the Scriptures

One can not well differentiate between Luther's residence on the Wartburg and his attitude towards the Scriptures. Not, indeed, because Luther here learned to look upon the Scriptures in a new relation, so that not until now they became for him the only source of religious knowledge. This proposition already crumbles into dust in view of the sources that were generally available prior to 1883, and to maintain it now is to become guilty of an historical falsification for the sake of one's construction. Undritz already wrote a splendid article on the development of the Scripture principle with Luther during the earlier years of the Reforma-

tion. But it is Preuss who in a perfectly trustworthy way suffers us to follow this development to the minutest detail. He begins with the rule which Staupitz, 1504, laid down in his statutes for cloisters: "The novice shall gladly read the Scriptures, devoutly hear them, and diligently learn them," and closes with a searching investigation of the statements made by Luther at the Leipzig Disputation, 1519. To follow Luther farther than to this point is unnecessary, for with the Leipzig Disputation the Reformer had actually reached the position from which he did not deviate the rest of his life. viz.: The Scriptures are the only source of religious knowledge. Already in 1518 he wrote: "Even if all the holy teachers had held this or that, they are as nothing over against one single passage from the Scriptures" (Weimar Ed. 1, page 384). The last day of the Leipzig Disputation his final statement was his confession of the authority of the Scriptures, for he concludes: *Doleo, quod d.d. ita profunde penetrat scripturas sicut tippula aquas: immo videtur fugere a facie earum sicut diabolus crucem, quare salvis reverentiis patrum praefero ego auctoritatem scripturae, quod commendo judicibus futuris* (Weim. Ed. 2, p. 382). In his "Contra malignum I. Eccii judicium M. Lutheri Defensio" of the same year he proves this his position over against the Scriptures with the declaration of their inerrancy, for he reaffirms the words of St. Augustine: *Ego solis eis libris, qui canonici appellantur, hunc honorem deferre didici, ut nullum scriptorem eorum errasse firmissime credam* (Weim. Ed. 2, p. 626 ff.). In his "Operationes in psalmos" of 1519 he already made the famous declaration: *"Quid est papa? quid mundus? quid princeps mundi? ut propter eum veritatem evangelii, pro qua Christus mortuus est, negem. Valeat, qui valet;*

pereat, qui perit; ego sic sentiam deo propitio semper (Weim. Ed. 5, p. 452).[64a] The question "Scripture or reason," as well as the combination "Scripture and reason," were a priori impossible for him a disciple of Occam, for with Occam he looked upon the human "ratio" as the most uncertain factor. Kropatscheck and especially Seeberg have emphatically asserted this, and their assertion has been ably seconded by O. Ritschl.[64a]

It is quite another question at what time and in which measure the Scriptures became of importance for Luther's *personal religious* life. His lectures on the Psalms and especially on the Epistle to the Romans now put us in a position to gain more reliable data. Scheel, Thimme, O. Ritschl, and Tschackert inform us on this score. *"Tota justitia hominis ad salutem pendet ex verbo per fidem;" "Vera justitia fit credendo ex toto corde verbis Dei;" "Quando verbo eius credimus. Per tale credere nos justificat i.e. justos reputat;" "Sola reputatione miserentis Dei per fidem verbi eius justi sumus"* we already read in his lectures of the Romans. The gospel for him is no longer the *"nova lex"* as during the whole of the Middle Ages, but the means of grace, *"nuntius bonus."*[64a]

We now can readily trace how he gradually progressed from the allegorical interpretation of Scripture to the historical, which emphasizes the *"sensus literalis,"* even though he never fully abandoned the former. Zoeckler, Grundt, and Eger have discussed this as well as his position to the Old Testament. Not later than 1520 we already read the sentence: *"Scriptura sacra ipsa per se sui ipsius interpres"* (Erl. Ed. v. n. 5, p. 160). Especially in his book against Emser, 1521, he energetically defends the "grammatical" or "historical" sense of the

Scriptures as the only correct sense. "The Holy Ghost is the simplest writer and speaker in heaven or earth; hence His words can not have more than one simplest meaning, which we call the written or literal sense (Zungensinn)." "The Scriptures must not have a twofold meaning, but must retain only the one expressed by the words" (Erl. Ed. 27, p. 259-262).[64a]

How the attempt has been made to get much capital for a freer position of Luther towards the Scriptures out of his expressions concerning James, Hebrews, the Apocalypse, etc., is well known. But it is scientific levity to do so. Careful research will ever find, that the books recognized by him as canonical, under all conditions were regarded by him as the authoritative Word of God, but that he differentiated between these and such which he did not without more ado accept as God's Word, simply because he did not regard them as canonical. It is a matter, therefore, of two entirely different spheres. For this reason it is not correct to ascribe to the former what is said of the latter. That Luther in his doubts over the canonicity of this or that book during the transition period from the Middle Ages to the Reformation did not stand alone, that the conception of canonical writings was not a firmly fixed conception as it largely is today, is clearly shown by Walther and Leipold, whilst Walther and Kawerau have also investigated the question of Luther's (and other's) final opinion of James.[64a]

What position did Luther take towards the writings recognized by him as canonical, did he merely assert their inerrancy in religious matters or also extend this to historical, physical, etc., matters? Walther in Rostock has shown that Luther's position here, too, was much more conservative than nearly all presentations care to admit.[64a]

If time and strength permit, the writer will express himself more in detail on Luther and the Scriptures in the near future, in order on his part to preclude the attempt even of theologians of the American Lutheran Church to defend their own lax positions over against the Scriptures by appealing to Luther.

Even though Luther's residence on the Wartburg did not in any way involve a new position of the reformer towards the Scriptures, yet the undisturbed and careful study of the same, which he here could undertake, could only fortify the position which he had already gained.

14. Luther and the German Language

Since the question concerning Luther's influence on the German language is closely related with the question concerning Luther's Bible, and Luther's work on the German Bible began with so much promise on the Wartburg, the most important results of the work done during the past thirty-five years to get a better understanding of this phase of Luther's life work, may be noted at this place.

In 1868 the Catholic V. Hasak published his book: "Der christliche Glaube des deutschen Volkes beim Schlusz des Mittelalters dargestellt in deutschen Sprachdenkmalen." By means of this collection of sources he attempts to show that the claim, Luther is the creator of modern High German, is entirely without foundation in fact. Others, both before and since, for inst. the well known Scherer, and Hasak himself in his later work: "Dr. M. Luther und die religioese Literatur seiner Zeit bis zum Jahre 1520" (Regensburg, 1881) assumed the same position. And, of course, all those writers who think that Luther's Bible translation rests on the pre-Lutheran German versions (compare IV, 12 and foot-

notes 62 and 63) are of the same opinion. For the Roman Catholic literary historian Anselm Salzer (Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, Muenchen, 1906, ff.) this matter is settled. And Gutjahr also strongly operates with a modern High German unity in language ("Einheitssprache") prior to Luther. The one-sided manner in which in certain sections the "fact is emphasized that the 'language-unifying process began long before Luther and was ended long after him' already threatens to lead to an undervaluation of Luther's merits on this score before these are even fully understood," R. Neubauer wrote in 1903. In opposition to the well known saying of Jacob Grimm: "Luther's language because of its almost wonderful purity and powerful influence must be regarded as the very pith and marrow of the new High German language deposit, in which to the present day there has been very little variation, and then only at the expense of its power and expressiveness. The new High German can indeed be termed the Protestant dialect, whose freedom breathing nature has long since, unknown to themselves, conquered poets and authors of Catholic faith,"—this lofty evaluation of the services of Luther in behalf of the German language has been characterized as a "Protestant legend" (compare P. Pietsch, Luther's Werke, Weimar Ed. 12, p. VII).

Among the men who have carefully investigated this question Burdach and Pietsch, the Germanistic co-laborer in the Weimar Luther edition, deserve especial mention. The most and the best which Protestant theologians in their scientific works on Luther's Bible adduce from the philological point of view can directly or indirectly be traced, according to Risch, to the work by Pietsch, "Luther und die neuhoch deutsche Schriftsprache"

(Breslau, 1883). This amply characterizes the importance of this publication. Next to Burdach and Pietsch the brief but carefully weighed and splendidly instructive dissertation of Neubauer demands special consideration. It contains so splendid a characterization of the language of the Reformer that we have appended it almost unabridged[64c] in the foot notes. And Risch enlarges on all of the pertinent questions, putting into bold relief the problems in questions and also detailing the work still to be undertaken.[64b]

That Luther did not newly create the language which he used as far as its externals, its grammatical cloak, is concerned, is evident. He himself also says so. In this sense a single individual can not create a language. He meant to be understood by the German people and this conditioned the existing language as his starting point. And he studied it, if ever it was studied. The spoken, written, and printed language of his people was ever during his lifetime the object of his closest observation and study. As late as 1536 he instructs Linck to purchase everything of "German pictures, rimes, songs, books, master-songs" to be had in Nuernberg, and send it to him for the purpose of study. He compiled a collection of German adages for himself, which was first edited for us by E. Thiele. He listened and learned from the German people what was to be learned.[64b]

Modern research has ever more shown how much of German literature was in existence prior to Luther. Of course the lifted treasures have not yet been carefully sifted and studied. Yet Kluge, Pietsch, Daumer, Schuett, Boehme, and others have begun to study this field. The limits of this research work, however, must ever be more extended. The question, just in how far the various Ger-

man chief dialects prior to Luther have found a unification ("Einigungssprache") has been made the subject of careful research by Burdach. Virgil Moser, 1909, has collected everything what research work has thus far evolved. Yet he is not quite just to the linguistic importance of Luther. And that Gutjahr succeeded in an even lesser degree has already been mentioned. Alfred Goetze essayed the attempt to create an "Early High German Glossary" on the basis of independent reading and detailed study of the early High German literature and the various dictionaries of Swiss, Bavarian, Alsatian, Suebian, etc., dialects, a work which notwithstanding its brevity we always used with profit.[64b]

And now in what relation does Luther's language stand to the language prior to him? Did he simply receive it and pass it on? Or did it become a new language under his hands, which became the standard for the future? Did he take some particular dialect and develop it, leaving aside whatever of good and beautiful is contained in the others, thereby consigning them to lingering death? Or did he take the good and beautiful and assimilate it, thereby giving it residence in the German language? Burdach answers: "Luther's genius was the 'awakening sun' that shone over the development of the modern High German." Pietsch in the preface to volume XII of the Weimar edition, 1891, says: "One of the most important phases of the national importance of Luther is doubtless to be found in the fact that with his care and his influence he strengthened the young shoot of the common language to such an extent that it gradually grew to a tree overshadowing the whole of Germany."[64b]

Neubauer arrives at the same conclusion. He writes: "Ever since the 13th century the need became apparent,

and various circumstances during the 14th and 15th centuries tended to a unification of language: the ground was prepared. And this all the more so, since that very German, which through Luther's pioneer work was destined to be the mediator, the *Middle German,* had since the 14th century, where the literary center of gravity had shifted from the South to Middle Germany, received a greater literary importance than in the past and more and more had assimilated upper German elements. The ground was prepared. It only needed the awakening sun. And we owe it to the masterful personality of Luther, his stupendous genius for language, the skillful selection in the use of his language and its masterful manipulation in his Germanizing of the Bible, the profound influence and the astounding dissemination of the latter, which soon became a *popular book*—originally diligently read and re-read by thousands for the sake of its contents, but like a secret master of language doing in quiet a slow but successful work in house and hut—that the incipient movement making for a unification of language increased in momentum, and that "Luther's German" finally became the unifying language for literature and cultured intercourse. In so far Luther is the founder of the modern High German language. On the one hand he gave to his language a certain type, which embodying, as it did, certain elements of different dialects, afforded a possibility for further and more comprehensive linguistic unification, and on the other hand his genius quickened this language, enriched it, gave it flesh and spirit and life, and thus enabled it to discharge the lofty duty that fell to its lot" (l. c. p. 8).

At another place Neubauer says: "In truth there was no book prior to Luther in which 'the kind of German

language was contained.' During three centuries the language was neglected, crude, inflexible; degenerate in forms and syntax, irregular and without deeper spirit, it lacked the ability for expressing the finer and more delicate sentiments, it lacked soul and nobility. For this reason the more refined, the humanists looked upon it as 'barbarous' and felt scandalized to use it.*

Even those who spoke and wrote the most elegant and artistic Latin, men like Erasmus, Melanchthon, and even Hutten, wrote a crude and defective German. And the language was blamed for what was due only to personal incapacity, a scholarship that weaned away from nationality, or a lack of heart for one's own people and language. With Luther things took a turn. In him the master had arisen, who recognized that the German language possesses all those elements which were regarded as lacking, and that it only remained for some one to bring them to the light of day. He recognized the princess in the scorned Cinderella, rescued her from her despised humbleness, rinsed her beautiful eyes and noble countenance of the ashes and the dirt of common servitude, took from her her vile rags, clothed and decorated her in the habiliments of wealth and royalty, so that her inherent walk and attitude of quality, her beauty, virility, and elasticity of youth, and her entire nobility became radiantly apparent. And the despised and nearly degenerated as a

* Kluge has adduced the testimonium paupertatis which the Archbishop Berthold of Mainz, 1486, influenced as he was by humanism, has given to the German language. To substantiate his prohibition of religious and biblical literature in the German language he wrote: *Fateri opportet, idiomatis nostri inopiam minime sufficere necesseque fore, translatores . . . . veritatis sensum corrumpere.*

result is endowed with the proud name 'chief and hero language' (Haupt-und Heldensprache). It is literally true what Justus Jonas in his funeral sermon declares of Luther: 'He has rehabilitated the German language, so that now we can again distinctly speak and write'" l. c. p. 12f.).

Risch remarks: "Luther was bound to find the proper word for the new and great that filled his heart, that filled the heart of the people, though they were unable to clothe it in words. His wonderfully developed genius of language almost always enabled him to find what he sought. And the moment he had found the word he also gave to the concept included therein an explosive power of penetrating effect. One must clearly visualize this mental revolution with its psychological results for the linguistic expression of the masses, who stood in the midst of the stream, in order fully to appreciate Luther's importance for the history of language." "The stronger projection of the dialect during the 15th century plainly reveals how the politically disjointed Germany also cultivated but little of mental touch and intercourse. And the international character of humanism was even less in a position to afford the people the mental unity. Only the imperial chancery felt the need of a uniform German written language understood by all. But the chancery on the other hand was too little in touch with the people, and possessed too little influence among them, to bring about a healthy and vigorous linguistic movement. The great and unifying thought, that joined the north and the south was lacking, the mastering and ponderous gravity of a great personality, who knew how to press the German language into the service of a great cause, over which every German could enthuse. In order to realize this great aim

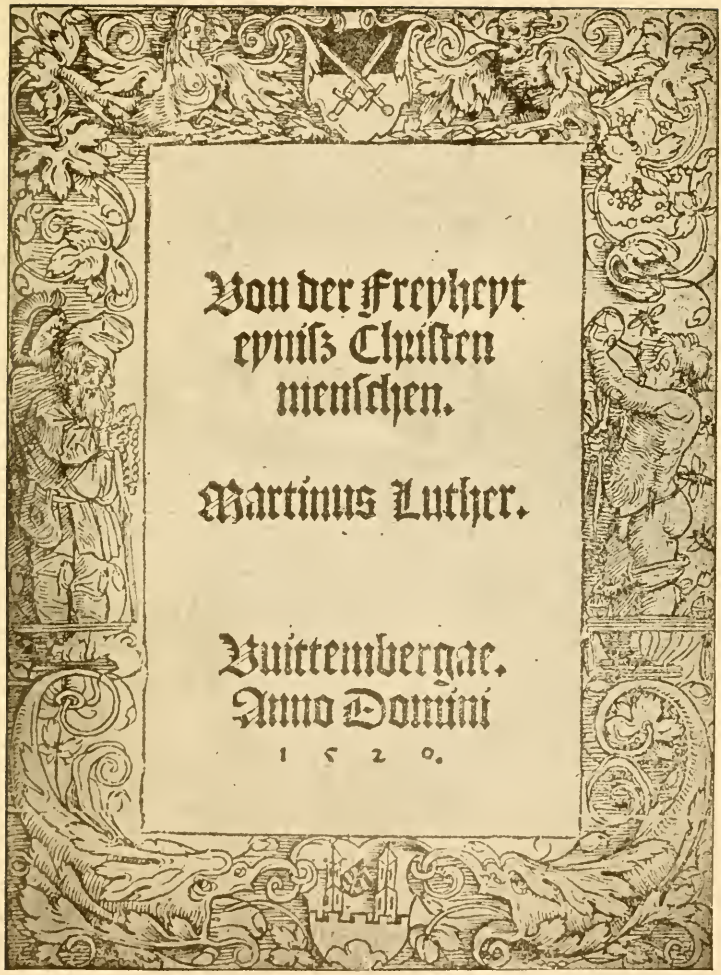
among the German people, Luther was forced to bring the many beginnings for a popular and unified language to their full development. And he was the right man" (l. c. p. 137x191).

In order to understand somewhat the tremendous influence which Luther exerted upon the German language, the whole flood of German writings poured by Luther on the German people must be considered. But in the forefront there stand his translation of the Bible, and, as Risch has again justly pointed out, his Small Catechism. Pietsch's bibliography appended to the "German Bible" in the Weimar edition of Luther's Works, enables the student to gain a reliable conception of the distribution of the Luther Bible up to Luther's death. In the beginning only parts of the Bible, principally the New Testament, were brought to the masses through the printeries. In 1522 three original prints were issued and 22 reprints. In 1524 eight editions in Wittenberg were followed by 39 reprints. That was the culmination point. In the years following the ratio of original editions to reprints is the following: 1525, 3 to 22; 1526, 7 to 25; 1527, 3 to 21; 1528, 4 to 15; 1529, 1 to 13. During the years 1530 to 1540, 34 Wittenberg editions were followed by 72 reprints; 1541 to 1546 Pietsch enumerates 18 Wittenberg editions and 26 reprints outside of Wittenberg. During the period of 1534 to 1584 Lotter's press alone is said to have sent out no less than 100,000 complete Bibles among the people. All told Pietsch treats of 84 original editions and 253 reprints, among which many double editions are counted as one. And if an edition is put at not less than 1,000 copies and not more than 5,000, and if the number of reprints is multiplied accordingly, it affords a glimpse of the stupendous distribution of the German Bible at

that time, and also indicates the singular and unique influence of Luther's Bible German on the German language. And only then is this fully understood when we consider (1) that the Bible was read in every Church service (matins, common service, vespers, weekday service), and thus also became part and parcel for those of the people who could not read, or were too poor to purchase a copy of their own; (2) that the Low German editions as to their language; and (3) that the Catholic Bibles (the Swiss Bibles also) as to their language were largely dependent on Luther's Bible, so that all circles of society stood directly under its influence. Compare herewith the investigations by Byland, Bachmann, Lindmeyr, Schroeder, Schaub, Jellinghaus, Neubauer, Risch, Breest.[64b]

Risch in his comprehensive essay (compare also Kuehn) calls attention to the fact that the student in following the "German Bible" in the Weimar edition can not only trace how Luther in the course of time much better commands the text, but also ever better and with increasing skill handles the German language. Here the development of the modern High German can be discerned as nowhere else, and one also sees his genius for language and his fidelity in the work for the language of his people in all its wonderful uniqueness. Overwhelming and humiliating alike it stands forth in bold relief.

Next to the translation of the Bible the *Small Catechism* claims attention, to show Luther's influence on the German language. This was recited daily in the homes, and read in nearly every service. It was the first and only German reader for many. It was committed to memory by all people. In many ways Luther's genius for language here is even more apparent than in



Title page of the book 'Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen', 1520.

his Bible translation. Gillhoff has written a splendid booklet on this subject, of which we quote several passages in the footnotes.[64c]

Alfred Goetze calls attention to the influence of Luther's hymns in forming the German language. In our period Luther's language has been treated in its entirety by Franke, briefer but good by Neubauer. The lexicon for Luther's German writings by Dietz has unfortunately been left incomplete. Luther's influence on the German sequence of words, syntax, and above all things vocabulary, and the development of the meaning of words, in spite of the wealth of material in Grimm's German dictionary and Paul's German dictionary, has not yet been presented in its continuity. The close relationship between Luther's Bible language and Goethe's German has been demonstrated by Hehn. Brief yet comprehensive is the splendid characterization of the influence of Luther upon German literature given by Alfred Goetze in "Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart" III, column 2256. Column 2260 he also mentions Luther's well known edition of Aesop's Fables (1530 or 1538), and justly finds in it the incentive for the fables of Erasmus Alber. He writes: "The book of Erasmus Alber, 'Von der Tugend und Weisheit' (1534), characterized by the pleasant art to mould a simple material into a rich and animated picture, would never, perhaps, have been written, if Luther through his own work with Aesop had not given to this most faithful among his disciples the prototype for the fable. Thus Alber's work also is but a monument for Luther's merits in behalf of German poesy."

15. Luther's Return to Wittenberg

The upheaval in Wittenberg during March, 1522, caused Luther to return. The question whether Luther returned upon his own initiative or whether he thought at the same time that the Elector, while desiring his return, did not dare to voice his wish publicly because of political considerations, has been much discussed during the last decade. This was especially the case since Barge, in his lamentably one-sided, over-estimation of Carlstadt[65] and the things he started at Wittenberg, called Luther an "administrator of the Justice Department," who, in agreement with his prince made null and void the promising beginning of the "fruehreformatorischen Gemeindechristentums." Already before Barge Kawerau[65] had expressed the thought that Luther returned in accordance with the wish of the Elector, but von Bezold and, especially, K. Mueller[65] refused to let it stand, not even as far as it alone was concerned, and much less as Barge had represented it. Nikolaus Mueller[65] then pictured the entire Wittenberg movement in a work that distinguishes itself because of its detail and minuteness.

Several months after his return to Wittenberg Luther wrote his well-known and blunt answer to the charges made against him by *Henry VIII of England*—cf., Walther's monogravure on this subject.[66]

16. Luther's Endeavors to Build up Evangelical Congregations, 1523-1529

After his return the time had arrived to arrange an evangelical order of Divine Service, and to take into consideration the organization of congregations and entire regions that had severed connections with Rome. So

in 1523 he published his "Formula Missæ" and in 1526 his "Deutsche Messe," in 1523 and again in 1526 his "Taufbuechlein," 1529 the "Traubuechlein," 1529 the two catechisms, 1523 resp. 1524 the evangelical hymn-book, admonished in 1524 to erect evangelical schools, took an active part in the visitation of churches and schools in the Electorate of Saxony in 1528-29, and advised Bugenhagen, when he went to Braunschweig and other cities, to introduce there a new and evangelical order of the entire church affairs.

Gottschick, Gruenberg, Hans, Achelis, Rietschel and others attempted to state what views Luther held concerning an evangelical *Divine Service.*[67]

In order that the German Service might also possess a *German hymnary,* Luther not only called on others to compose German hymns, but also applied himself to this task. And, although about forty years of age, he still became the author of quite a number of the most precious church hymns. This view had obtained pretty generally at least[67] until a short while ago, even though Groessler contended more and more steadfastly that at least "Ein' feste Burg" was traceable to April, 1521, to his journey to Worms. It was due to Spitta,[67] however, that many who held this view, became otherwise convinced and accepted the one Spitta offered, to wit, that we possess hymns from Luther that already date back to his student years, to the time of his spiritual unrest as a monk, and to the days of his early reformatory activity. The more careful historians of the Reformation, however, have up until now abstained with due cause from giving this theory their support.

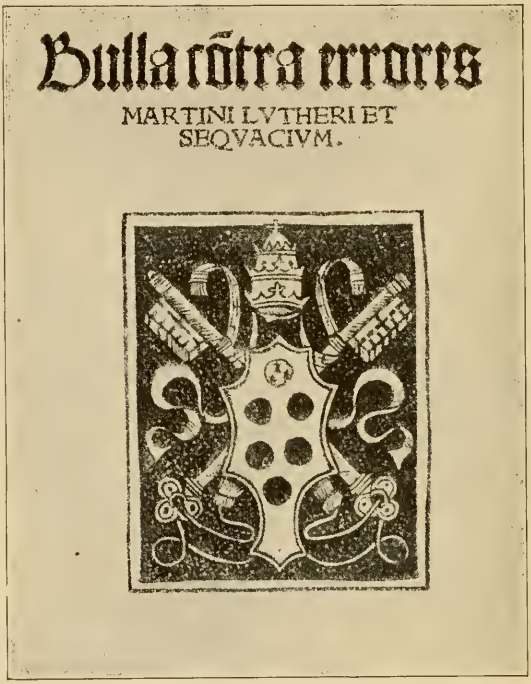
Thanks are due to F. Zelle[67] for a thoroughgoing work on the first hymn-books that contained Luther's hymns.

Phil. Wolfrum and Zelle[67] have also made us better acquainted with them in respect to their melodies and musical setting.

Kawerau, Althaus and Rietschel devoted themselves to the study of Luther's *Order of Baptism.* Kawerau's study especially is of lasting value, because he brought to light quite a number of the "Ordines Baptismatis" of the end of the Mediæval Period and compared them carefully with Luther's Order of 1523.[67]

Luther's conception of married life and his views about betrothing and the *solemnization of marriage* were often treated before 1883; in our period H. von Schubert, in his book "Die-evangelische Trauung, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und gegenwaertige Bedeutung, 1890," has again taken up this question.

In 1524 Luther called upon the council members of the German cities to *establish schools.* It is the most thrilling appeal that was ever made in the interest of higher education and Christian training of the youth. "It is everywhere well understood," says Luther, "what is to be done in the way of protection against Turks, wars and floods, and what has to be expended annually for arms, good roads and levees; so much money has heretofore been squandered for indulgences, masses and pilgrimages. Why not give part of this for educational purposes and a training of the young? If you give one 'gulden' for the war against the Turks, a hundred are not too much, if spent to educate a good Christian." On this writing Albrecht[68] published a minute and valuable study, which became still more valuable through the fact that Schiele[68] later, starting out from an opposition justifiable in itself, tried to undervalue Luther's service in the interest of the public school through gross exaggeration. Of course, it



Bull against the errors of Martin Luther and his Followers.

In the center the coat of arms of the Medici, to which house Pope Leo X belonged. Five balls and three lilies of Florence. Also the triple crown of the pope and the keys of St. Peter. From a print of 1520.

is the Latin School that Luther desired to be erected and safeguarded first of all—and the present writer knows of three hundred German cities that between 1524 and 1600 erected new schools or rearranged them on new principles—but that Luther also referred to the common school, at least in the cities, is indicated by his demand for a minimum instruction of two hours per day for boys and one hour for girls. The "Kuesterschule" of the Reformation period is the kernel out of which is grown of whatever we have to-day of Christian common schools.

It was in his "German Mass" that Luther declared *catechetical instruction* of the young a necessary part of an evangelical Divine Service. "One of the principal parts of a right German order of worship is a plain and good instruction of the youth," he said. Here he also illustrated in a remarkable manner, in which way children could be brought to a correct understanding of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer. It is the merit of Ferdinand Cohrs[69] and the Society for the History of Education in Germany that more than thirty catechisms published between 1522 and 1528 were again made accessible, the majority of which was brought forth by this appeal of Luther.

Buchwald has shed new light on Luther's own catechetical work.[69] We now can follow his endeavors on this line from 1516 up to 1529, and must be astonished over the amount of time and work Luther devoted to the instruction of the young and the uneducated. He explained to them the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, later on also the Sacraments in sermons and in writings of all kind; he even gathered them in his house in the evening and expounded to them the meaning of these texts in such a plain and simple way

that even the weakest ones could grasp the evangelical truth. Buchwald, Knoke and Albrecht,[69] by means of new discoveries and most thorough and extensive investigations in a conclusive way, made us acquainted with the origin of *the two catechisms,* with the form in which the Small Catechism was at first published, with the different editions up to Luther's death, with its translations into Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, English, etc. Compare the author's article on the "Religious Instruction During the 16th Century" in the LUTHERAN CHURCH REVIEW of 1915 and 1916.

That through the publication of his "Passionale" in 1529, Luther became the *father of Bible story instruction,* is covered by my article in "Kirchliche Zeitschrift" (1906), and the little book has been made known again through the second part of my "Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts."[69] This last-named work also carefully traces the great influence which Luther's catechism had into the most distant portions of Germany and beyond. Hardeland presents the rich thoughts that are hidden in all of Luther's catechetical writings, and Meyer shows plainly how the Large Catechism grew out from the three series of Luther's sermons on the catechism-texts of 1528.[69]

Luther was the advocate of an entirely new *relation of the evangelical congregations* that now arose all over Germany *towards the State.* Sohm, Kolde, Brandenburg, Koehler, Drews, K. Mueller, Holl, Hermelink and Waring aim at making us acquainted with this view of Luther of the State and its relation to the Church, as well as with the dream of founding ideal congregations that was once dreamed by him.[70] Space does not permit to dwell longer upon this matter. May it suffice to say

that the principle of the freedom of the Church as well as the freedom of the State, so dear to us Americans and so fundamental for the sound development of the future of our nation, was laid down by no one else than by Luther.

17. The Years of Separation, 1524-1530

The year 1524-1525 was replete with many different kinds of weighty decisions for Luther. In the first place there was the Christian-socialistic revolution, as it manifested itself in the Peasants' War; the immoderate spiritualism of the Anabaptists, the Catholic humanists such as Erasmus; and even now the dispute with Zwingli and others on the Eucharist had begun.

Stolze, Boehmer, Strœle, Sommerlad, Vogt, Solle and v. Bezold[71] present all the material necessary for a full understanding of the situation that led to the *Peasants' War* and made it so difficult for Luther to take the correct position. By means of their writings it also becomes apparent why Luther necessarily had to separate himself from the peasants. Riggenbach, v. Nathusius, Lezius, and Seeberg have very excellently portrayed the deep sympathy which Luther at all times had for the social question of his days.[71]

The great difference that separated Luther from the fanatic *Anabaptists* is duly emphasized by the works of Gruetzmacher and Walther.[72] Walther makes clear how far here again most important principles were involved, principles which even to-day are the dividing wall between sound historical Lutheranism and all branches of the Reformed Church. Gottschick, Hegler, Scheel, Otto, and Sachsse,[72] however, ought to be compared. Scheel has published anew the important writing of Luther,

"Wider die himmlischen Propheten," this vigorous treatise of the Reformer against every phase of nomism that does not understand the great difference between Old and New Testament, and against all enthusiasm that loosens the soul from the firm foundation given by the word. Wappler[72] raises the question in which sense we can speak of liberty of creed and conscience during the Reformation period, and makes plain the tenacity with which the Anabaptists, even in Thuringia, held their own for a long time.

Burckhardt, Lezius, Richter, J. von Walter, Zickendrath and others[73] cover the relations between *Luther and Erasmus,* and whoever studies these publications should be convinced of the necessity of Luther's separation from Erasmus. They belong to two entirely different periods, and their religious and moral convictions stood in direct opposition to each other. We understand readily that Wernle (Die Renaissance des Christentums im 16. Jahrhundert, 1904, p. 11ff.) and Troeltsch (Die Kultur der Gegenwart, 2 ed. Leipzig, 1909, IV, 1 p. 473ff.) judge Erasmus entirely differently and pronounce him "Den groeszten Bahnbrecher der Renaissance des Christentums im 16. Jahrhundert"; but this only shows, as Hauck correctly says, how so many representatives of modern theology have forgotten the objectiveness that to Ranke was the necessary requisite for historical judgment. All the greater is the debt we owe to J. von Walter, who opposed these views in a very able manner. Walter has again also edited the "Diatribe" of Erasmus, and Scheel has offered us Luther's "De servo arbitrio" in a new translation, together with a good introduction and many explanatory notes. The essays of C. Stange are also to be noted in this connection.[73]

On the dispute between *Luther and Zwingli,* W. Walther[74] has shed new light. He discloses the dishonest methods to which the opponents of Luther constantly resorted during the Eucharistic controversy, and thus he explains the feeling of distrust Luther had for Zwingli and his brothers in arms. Jæger and Thimme emphasize the religious interest Luther had in the Real-Presence, whereas Græbke shows the construction of the Lutheran doctrine of The Eucharist in its development, but hardly with sufficient accuracy.[74]

In 1529 the *Religious Discussion at Marburg* took place. Kolde, in Hauck's "Realencyklopædie," has furnished us the best treatise on this remarkable occurrence. In his "Augsburger Konfession"[75] he has also made easily accessible the text of the Articles of Marburg. H. von Schubert[75] showed that the Articles of Marburg were not prior to the Articles of Schwabach, as was formerly thought; that rather the Articles of Schwabach were fundamental to the Articles of Marburg. The Articles of Schwabach very likely were already written by Luther in June, to serve as the basis for a common confession of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Nuernberg and Saxony (cf. also Schornbaum's writings[75]). Luther took them to Marburg, where they were divested of some of their darts against Zwingli.

The separation from Zwingli and his friends was kept up *at Augsburg.* Through Kolde's investigations[76] we have gained a concrete idea of how much of the Augustana was placed before Luther, and of what great dimensions Melanchthon's lamentable yielding to Rome really was. We now realize all the more why Melanchthon so seldom sent a report to Luther at Coburg, and we can assume that Luther had fulfilled his promise, or rather

threat, to go himself to Augsburg if he had known how much Melanchthon at one time was ready to give up. Burkhardt[76] informed us about the route of travel the Elector and Luther took to Coburg, while Buchwald[76] discovered and published some of the sermons Luther delivered during his second exile, *i. e.,* at Coburg. The most important one is the sermon of the 2d of October, in which he touches the Diet of Augsburg and expresses his unshakable confidence about the future: "Fuerchte sich denn der Teufel," he said, "wir wollen uns nicht fuerchten! Die Stunde und Zeit wird kommen, dass die Weisheit und Gewalt, darauf sie jetzt pochen, wird dahingehen, dass wir sagen werden: wo sind sie nun?"

18. Luther's Marriage, Home and Health

In 1525, *i. e.,* in a year full of important crises for the further development of his life-work, Luther entered the "holy estate of matrimony." He was fully aware of the daring of his step, but he was also convinced of its correctness, and it was to him really a part of his work of Reformation. A. Thoma and E. Kroker[77] portray the life of his wife, Katharina von Bora, thus affording us a glimpse into Luther's domestic life. By his marriage Luther became the founder of the evangelical parsonage, this rich source of intellectual and religious life, this home of good music, of genuine art and of all what is pure, lovely and good. Luther's close relation to art and artists is sketched by P. Lehfeldt in "Luther's Verhaeltnis zu Kunst und Kuenstlern," 1892. Compare also W. Baur, "Das deutsche evangelische Pfarrhaus," ²1878. W. Kawerau deals in general, and very learnedly concerning the "Reformation and matrimony."[77]

It is known that Luther was often ill during the

thirties. It was Ebstein[77] who, in 1908, published an investigation into *the different ailments of Luther* and their subsequent influence on his physical and mental condition. He asserts that Luther suffered from calculi, constipation, piles, catarrh of the middle ear—almost deafness—, periostitis, stomach-affections, weakness of the heart, dysentery, cataract on one eye, and rheumatism! Ebstein finds that it was a particularly virulent kind of rheumatism which was in the main cause for his many pains, and acknowledges that "das ganze Ach und Weh" was the consequence of this sickness, even his corpulency. His mental work, however, was not influenced for the worse through this sickness, even though nervous affliction, fits of mental depression, etc., did temporarily hinder it. He was not an epileptic, or, as some have even said, a maniac. Through the strength of his will and his unflagging energy he invariably rose above his sickness, and until his death he remained the victor in a fight, whose successful termination demanded the greatest possible mental resistance. Thus does the greatness of his genius only show itself all the more resplendent when we think of his numerous illnesses.

19. Luther Introduces the Act of Ordination, 1535

The more independent and organized evangelical churches appear, especially since 1530, the more does Luther disappear from the foreground. Our review for that same reason can from now on be also much briefer and of a more elective character.

In 1531 the evangelical princes and cities organized the *Alliance of Schmalkalden*. Now it was up to Luther to take anew a stand to the question whether the sword

could be drawn from the sheath even against the Kaiser, to protect the Gospel or not.[78] Cardauns defines the position Luther took.

In 1535, with the help of Luther, an *order of ordination,* as we understand this term to-day, was introduced at Wittenberg. Originally it had not been Luther's intention to create a holy act that in any respect could be considered as a substitute for the Roman consecration to the priesthood. If the person who wished to become an evangelical pastor had been found worthy and capable (by the superintendents and visitators) and had been called by the magistrates (secular government), the representative of the congregation, the office was established in the single congregation; especially the latter, the call, was the main requisite. Often a divine service was held in this connection, in which the call of the pastor was confirmed, in which he was introduced to the congregation, and where under laying-on of hands, prayers were offered for him. All of this, and sometimes with the exception of the divine service, Luther formerly called ordination, but according to present terminology it was more of an introduction to the congregation rather than an ordination.

But more had to be done in behalf of practical interests. In the end of the twenties a conviction must have taken root among the leading circles in Wittenberg that it was in the interests of the relations of the clergy to their charges that they receive their office through an act of ordination. This is proved through a letter of Luther dated December 16, 1530, which states that because of a dearth of clergy they were compelled "proprio ritu ordinare et instituere ministros." In December, 1534, in the church constitutions meant for Pommerania—printed in

Psalm 1.

Illustration from the second German Bible produced by the printing press. Printed about 1470 by H. Eggesteyn in Strassburg. It is a reprint of the first German Bible which was published 1466 by Johann Mentel at Strassburg.

Wittenberg, 1535—Bugenhagen plainly speaks of an ordination that is not only an installation.[79] However, in Wittenberg the old custom was clung to until 1535.

Thanks to the investigations of G. Rietschel we know that Luther conducted such an ordination October 20, 1535. Buchwald quotes the address that Luther held on this occasion. Afterwards Drews calls attention to the fact that candidates were already ordained in Wittenberg before the 14th of August; he even calls our attention to a writing of the Elector of the 12th of May, in which attention is called to an edict of the Elector that those about to be ordained should be sent to Wittenberg, for the "learned men of Holy Scriptures" should ordain them. Drews also proves that in connection with this the candidates were no longer to be examined by the superintendents as heretofore, but by the theologians in Wittenberg. The faculty turned over the ordination to Bugenhagen. The doubts of Bugenhagen concerning the edict of the Elector[79a] did not concern the ordination itself, but had their cause in his conviction, already expressed in his church constitution for Pommerania that the candidates for the ministerium should be examined by their home superintendents, solemnly bound to do their whole ministerial work in accordance with the Word of God by their home bishops (or superintendents) and then be installed by laying on of hands and prayer in the midst of the congregation by which they had been called.[79a] Although it was Bugenhagen who was to officiate at the ordinations, yet Luther often took his place. When, in July, 1537, Bugenhagen went to Denmark for a period of two years, Luther officiated regularly and began "the catalogus ordinatorum," which Buchwald has published.

The ordination generally took place on Sunday, after

a sermon which exhorted to prayer for those about to be ordained.

With the exception of a report of an ordination which we know through the Table-talk and a Latin formula for those unversed in German, we now possess five forms for the order of ordination that date back to the time until 1539. One of these, obligatory for use in Wittenberg since 1539, was recast by Bugenhagen after his return from Denmark by using an existing sketch. Did the other four have their origin in Luther? Drews believed that he certainly had traced one to Luther, which he published as "the oldest formula for ordination in the Lutheran Church," in the 38th volume of the Weimar Luther Edition (p. 401 ff.). But later Vetter contended that this formula could by no means be considered the oldest, and that it does not date back to Luther. On the contrary, it may be that the formula C—taken back by the preachers of Kulmbach, Schnabel and Eberhard, from Wittenberg to their home in 1538—and that the formula F—in the minutes of the visitators of Freiberg from the year 1538—are the oldest that we possess and are directly traceable to Luther.[80]

20. Luther and the Wittenberg-Concord, 1536

It was a momentous event when, in 1536, the *Wittenberg-Concord* was established between Luther and the upper Germans, and when Luther said: "We have now heard the answer and confession that all of you believe and teach that in the Eucharist the true body and the true blood of the Lord is given and received and not only bread and wine; also that this giving and receiving takes place in reality and not in imagination; you only take offense, because the real presence is there also for the

impious. Believe what Saint Paul says that those who are unworthy also receive the body of our Lord, as long as the institution and the word of the Lord are not changed; about this point we shall not quarrel. Because you stand thus, we are one, and we acknowledge and receive you as our dear brethren in the Lord." Later on, when the formula for the Concord had been signed, he said, in farewell: "Let us bury that which has happened on both sides and weigh it down with a stone." Th. Kolde has given us, in the 21st volume of Haucks' Realenzyklopædie a detailed account of the respective events occurring between the religious discussion at Marburg and the Wittenberg-Concord, as well as an account of these two happenings themselves. Here we also learn why, in spite of all this, a real union was not achieved later on, why even before Luther's death the dispute with the Swiss broke out anew.

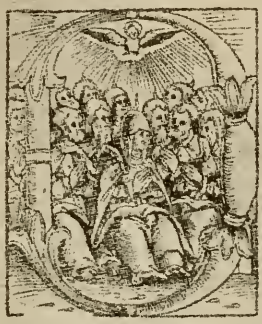
21. Luther and England

In the year 1536, not only the representatives of upper Germany appeared with Luther in Wittenberg, but a *deputation from England* came in order to treat with the Wittenberg theologians. The object of their coming was no less important than that of ascertaining how closely the German evangelicals could approach the representatives of Henry VIII in doctrine, so that a nation like England might enter into the Smalkald Union. G. Mentz has edited for the first time the "Articles of Wittenberg" of 1536, and has therewith documentarily proven how dependent the 48 articles of Edward VI, and therefore, also the 39 articles of Elizabeth, are upon the Augsburg Confession. For the "Wittenberg Articles" have their origin in the Augustana. Many times they only quote

literally from it. On the other hand they stand in the closest relation to these English confessions. All this is only another example of the penetrative power of Luther's influence, it reaches directly into the confessions of those who, to-day, boast of being a completely separate branch of the Christian Church.[81]

When, about 12 years previously, Tyndale completed his translation of the New Testament into the English language (1524-1525), he made copious use of Luther's translation. He did this work in Germany, where his New Testament was also printed. The first complete English Bible (1535) on its title-page frankly stated, that it was faithfully translated out of "Douche and Latyn" (Douche, or Dutch = Luther's German). Tyndale's version, though revised, is virtually our English Bible of today. Through Tyndale and his friends translations of the Bible and many Lutheran writings were smuggled into England and were distributed. So as not to depend on the Latin writings of Luther and his coworkers, however, several of their works were translated into English. For instance, the first English catechism, Marshall's Primer, 1534 (2d edition 1535), is a translation of Luther's "Betbuechlein," and thus also of his "Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer" (1520), the important precursor of his later catechism (confer: M. Reu, Katechetik, 1915, p. 49, and "Three Primers Put Forth in the Reign of Henry VIII, Oxford, 1848). In 1548 Cranmer published "A Short Instruction into the Christian religion for the syngular commoditie and profit of children and young people in England," an English version of the "Kinderpredigten," written by Osiander (Cranmer married Osiander's niece) and Sleupner and added to the "Nuernberger Kirchen-

Das ander teyll des Euangelii Sanct Lucas von der Apostel geschicht. Das erst Capitel.



Die erste rede hab ich zwar than lieber theophile/von alle dem/das Jhesus anfieng/beyde zu thun vñ zu leren/bis an den tag/da er auffgenomē ward/nach dem er den Apostelln (welche er hatte erwelet durch den heyligen geyst befelh thett/welchen er sich nach seym leydē lebendig ertzeyget hatte/durch mancherley erweysung/vñ lies sich sehen vierzig tage lang/vnd redet mit yhn vom reich Gottis/vñ als er sie versamlet hatte/befalh er yhn/das sie nicht vō Jerusalem wichen/sondern warteten auff die verheyssung des vaters/welche yhr habt gehort (sprach er) von myr/denn Johannes hatt mit wasser teufft/yhr aber sollt mit dem heyligen geyst teuffet werden/nicht lange nach disen tagen.

Da sie nu zusamen komen waren/fragten sie yhn/vnnd sprachen/Herre/wirstu auff diese zeyt wyddder auffrichten das reich von Jsrael? Er sprach aber zu yhn/Es gepurt euch nicht zu wissenn die zeytte oder tage/welche der vater seyner macht für behalten hatt/sondern yhr werdet die krafft des heyligē geysts entpfahen/welcher auff euch komē wirt/vnnd werdet meyne zeugen seyn zu Jerusalem vnnd ynn gantz Judea vnd Samaria/vnd bis an das end der erden.

Marc. 16. Luce. 24.

Vnnd da er solchs gesaget/ward er auff gehaben zu sehens/vnnd eyn wolcke nam yhn auff von yhren augen/vnd als sie yhm nach sahen vñ den hymel farend/sihe/da tratten neben sie zween menner vñ weyssen Kleydern/welche auch sagten/yhr menner von Galilea/was stehet yhr vnnd sehet ynn den hymel? diser Jhesus/welcher von euch ist auff genomen gen hymel/der wirt komen/wie yhr yhn gesehen habt gen hymel faren.

Da wenden sie vmb gen Jerusalem/vō dem berge/der da heyst/der oleberg/welcher ist nah bey Jerusalem/vnnd hat eyn sabbathis reyse/vnd als sie hyneyn kamen/stiegen sie auff den soller/da denn sich enthielten Petrus vnd Jacobus/Johannes vñ Andreas/Philippus vnd Thomas/Bartholomeus vnd Matheus/Jacobus Alphei son vnd Simon Zelotes vnd Judas Jacobi son/Diese alle hielten an ernnutig mit beten vnd flehen/sampt den weybern vnd Maria der mutter Jhesu vnnd seynen brudern.

Vnd ynn

Page of the Septemberbible of 1522.

ordnung" of 1533. These sermons for children were an explanation of Luther's small catechism. Kawerau and Jacobs have again called attention to this.[82] But that this catechism (or rather these sermons on Luther's Catechism) was one of the best explanations of Luther's catechism, and that it had been both translated into different foreign languages (into Latin by Justus Jonas) and used more widely in Germany than any other, has been first brought to light by the present writer in his "Quellen z. Geschichte des Kirchl. Unterrichts zwischen 1530 and 1600."

The English Book of Common Prayer, in addition to other influences, manifests a copious use of Lutheran forms of worship, especially of the "Koelner Reformation," 1543, edited by Melanchthon and Butzer.

In 1548 there appeared in England, "M. Luther's Sermon on the Keys and of Absolution on John 20:21, 22," translated by R. Argentine. In the same year Walter Lynne, a London printer, published and dedicated to the Princess Elizabeth, another of Luther's works, namely, "A frutefull and godly exposition and declaration of the kyngdome of Christ and of chrysten lybertye made upon the words of the prophete Jeremye of the same matter by the famous clerke Doctor Martyn Luther" . . . London, 1548. In the following year Lynne published another of Luther's writings under the title, "A briefe collection of all such testes of the scripture as do declare the most blessed and happie estate of them that be with syckness . . . whereunto are added two frutefull and comfortable sermons made by the famous clerke Doctor Martyn Luther." 1549. (cfr. P. Smith in "The Nation," Dec. 17, 1914.)

Thus a Bible, catechism, confessions, and order of wor-

ship, borrowed from the work done by the Lutheran leaders or influenced by it, the first evangelical hymnal of England also drew from Lutheran sources. In 1539 or earlier Miles Coverdale published his "Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs, drawn out of the Holy Scripture." This includes not only a number of the psalms which were versified by Luther, but also some of Luther's hymns in a liberal version, such as "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," "Komm heilger Geist," "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," etc. The latter reads,

> Our God is a defense and towre
> A good armoure and good weapon,
> He had been ever oure helpe and sucoure
> In all the troubles that we have ben in
> Therefore wyl we never drede
> For any wondrous dede
> By water or by lande
> In hilles or the see side:
> Our God hath them al in his hande.

Indeed, during 1548 and the years following England had almost become a Lutheran country.[82]

22. Luther and the Articles of Smalkald, 1537

The Council was announced in 1536. In view of this Luther, at the behest of the Elector, wrote his so-called Smalkald Articles, in a way his last will and testament. Zangemeister has made the original manuscript accessible, whereas Kolde especially shows how it came to pass that Luther's articles were in the end not accepted by the assembled representatives of evangelical lands and cities in Smalkald, and that it was decided to refer once more to the Augustana, Apology and Wittenberg-Concord, and

that only Melanchthon's tract on the power and primacy of the pope was officially added to the others. Luther must not have known of Melanchthon's "small conduct" on this occasion and of the fact that his articles were not officially recognized, for otherwise he could not have written in his preface "These have been accepted by our side and unanimously subscribed to, etc." It was due to Kolde and Virck that we know of this, whereas Thieme has treated of the contents of these articles in an appreciative way.[83]

Because Luther in the introduction acknowledges once more the symbols of the old Church, we here refer to Kattenbusch's writing concerning Luther's position in respect to the œcumenical confessions.[83]

23. Luther and Agricola's Antinomism, 1537

It is known that the antinomistic tendencies of Agricola once more threatened to disturb the peace in 1537, and it is also known how Luther stood in regard to this. Kawerau shows that Luther was not only compelled to deal with Agricola in 1527 in the same matter, but that already in 1524 he, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon gave their opinion in a very similar case—concerning the method of preaching of the pastor in Chemnitz, Dominicus Beyer. Kawerau also shows just what the final stand of Luther in 1537 against Agricola had been. He sheds new light on Agricola's character who, as soon as he had escaped to Brandenburg, retracted every concession made by him to the Wittenberg theologians and immediately taught his heresy in the new edition of his catechism, 1541. His catechism is again made accessible through the latest volume (1916) of the present writer's "Quellen z. Geschichte des kirchl. Unterrichts."[83a]

24. Luther and Philip's Bigamy, 1539

In 1539 (10th of December) Luther gave his unfortunate "confessional advice" to Philip the Landgrave of Hesse concerning the latter's bigamy. It will be readily understood that Luther has been much attacked within the last decades because of this, and that the event has been thoroughly aired in order to drag Luther himself into the mire. Lenz, Koldewey, Walther, Kolde, Rockwell, Brieger, N. Mueller, and Koehler have contributed much toward clearing up this episode and toward the correct understanding of Luther's action.[84] The last-named especially has directed his attention against the never-dying Roman slander in this connection that Luther, having demanded at the Eisenach Conference (July, 1540) that Philip should silence this happening with a "good, healthy lie," a necessary lie (Nutzluege), was at all events an entirely untrustworthy and prevaricating person. It is exceedingly strange that men have dared to consider just this man guilty of lying who has said, among other things, "No virtue has made us Germans more famous, and, as I believe, has elevated us higher heretofore and has kept us in that position, than the fact that we have been esteemed faithful, trustworthy and steadfast folk, to whom 'no' meant 'no' and 'yes' meant 'yes.' And although foreign and Grecian vices are already becoming native among us, yet thus it has always remained that there can be no graver and uglier word spoken or heard than to call some one else a liar or to be called that oneself."

However, Koehler errs when he traces back this mistake of Luther in the matter with Philip to his theology, *i. e.,* "his extreme supernaturalism." It probably originated in this, that Luther in this case resorted to the

casuistic "morale" and held that in the end a smaller sin might be substituted for a greater one, instead of discarding this opinion from the very outset. Or it may be explained according to Hermelink, first, through the distinct difference between spiritual and secular justice as it existed in Luther's conception of religion, *i. e.,* the first marriage would be binding according to secular law, whereas the second only before God and the conscience of the contracting parties; second, through practice according to which a dispensation could be granted secretly for an action that the public law prohibited.

25. Luther and the Revision of His Bible, 1531-1541

The year 1541 saw the completion of the revision of his Bible translation which he had begun in 1531, which gave us the German Bible as we know it today, with the exception of a few individual passages, the revision of which took place later on. What great care and work Luther devoted to the work of his translation of the Bible is now made evident by the third volume of Luther's "Deutsche Bibel" (Weimar Edition). Here we find the newly-discovered minutes of the sessions arranged by Luther with Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Cruciger, Aurogallus, etc., for the special purpose of revision of Luther's translation. Three such revisions have taken place in 1531, 1534 and 1539-1541. In 1531 only the Psalter was revised, in 1539-1541 the entire Bible. The minutes of the revision in 1534 are lost, so nothing can be stated positively. Reichart and Koffmane, who have treated the pertaining questions before, furnished the text of the minutes and commented successfully on them.[85] How interesting it is to watch now the gradual growth of Luther's Bible! Risch sums up the problems

arising from the new material as well as connected with Luther's Bible in general.[85] Compare chapter 14.

26. The Last Years of Luther's Life-Work

For the years 1541 and 1542 Brandenburg published an investigation in which he shows how Luther was by no means afraid to step into the path of the Elector. When the Elector, in his political dealings with the Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, patron of Halle, in regard to Halle impetuously pursued his own advantage, Luther called his attention to the sacredness of his given word.[86]

It had been popularly supposed that Luther's well-known hymn, *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort,* had been composed in 1541; but Albrecht proved that it must have been existent already at least in 1537, because he found it in the index for hymns in the church constitution of Naumburg of 1537. Kolde has especially followed the history of this hymn in "Beitraege z. bayrischen Kirchengeschichte."[87]

Because Luther in 1542 once more took up his issue with the infidel and heart-hardened *Jews,* we here refer to Buchwald's and Lewin's work concerning Luther's position toward the Jews.[88] Lewin distinguishes four periods in Luther's stand toward the Jews. Before the diet at Worms Luther did not come in personal contact with the Jews; what he now and then said about them is based entirely on the literature of his time concerning this people and on his reading of the Bible. At Worms he became acquainted with two Jews who argued with him about Is. 7, 14. Other Jews enter in connection with him, and he believes in the possibility of their conversion. In 1523 he published his writing, "Dass Jesus Christus ein geborner Jude sei," and favors the endeavor to con-

vince them by means of biblical disputations. But the Jews did not show up. The years 1524-36 form the transitory period. Luther had disagreeable experiences with Jews. These and their attacks against his Bible translation cooled him off. In 1536 the Elector expelled the Jews from his territory and Luther refused to intercede; in 1538 he wrote his "Brief wider die Sabbather," which is followed by other writings of increasing severity: "Von den Juden und ihren Luegen," "Vom Schem Hamphoras," "Von den letzten Worten Davids," "Die Vermahnung wider die Juden."

It has already been mentioned that in the last years of Luther's life new fuel was heaped on the sacramental controversy. The year 1545 brought another sharp *attack against Rome.* By means of a series of circulars containing pictures and satirical verses Luther waged an immoderate and coarse attack against the papacy. C. Wendeler has proved that the nauseating representation of the "papist-child's" birth in the most offensive picture was not Luther's fault, but solely that of the painter for Luther was only responsible for the verses and not the pictures.[89]

His "Pabsttreu Hadriani IV u. Alexanders III gegen Kaiser Friederich Barbarossa geuebt" reminds us of his *knowledge in church history,* and of what Schaefer and Koehler have to say concerning this.[90] From 1535-1545 Luther has devoted a good deal of his time to historical studies. Especially in his writing "Von den Conciliis und Kirchen" he shows an historical knowledge surprising by its wide range and real thoroughness.

In 1556 Hardenberg, of Bremen, stated that Luther had changed his *views on the Eucharist* in his last discussion with Melanchthon, and had said: "There has

been too much ado made about the Lord's supper, etc." Amsdorf also accused Roerer, the editor of Luther's Works, of having falsified Luther's writing, "Dass diese Worte noch feststehen," because some of the parts did not agree with the original of 1524. It was rendering a valuable service when Haussleiter proved that Hardenberg's assertions were not entirely lacking in historical foundations, but that the fact had been much distorted here. The conference at Regensburg, namely, at which Butzer represented the Protestants, occurred at the same time when the second volume of Luther's German works was to be printed. Therefore it was the wish of the Landgrave Philip and the court of Electoral Saxony that in publishing this writing, "Dass diese Worte noch feststehen," the sharp utterances directed against Butzer's tactics in the Eucharistic Controversy should be erased. Luther acted according to their wish, for, in the first place, this omission did not involve any real change in the doctrine, and then, Butzer's position in this matter itself was altered in important points (Wittenberg Concord). Luther's action therefore meant by no means an actual retraction; it only accommodated itself to the new situation and was only just and proper.[91]

It has already been mentioned that the Catholic Paul Majunke, 1890, once more played the patron to the old falsehood of 1568, that Luther died a suicide, and that this assertion brought forth a whole series of writings against it; the most important literature in connection with this has also been mentioned. We mention N. Paulus, who a Catholic scholar himself, repudiated Majunke's assertion, and B. Grabinski, Wie ist Luther gestorben, 1913. Lately several *reports on Luther's death* have been discovered that bear upon this controversy. Dr.

Faksimile einer Seite aus der 1. Epistel Johannis im Neuen Testament, gedruckt zu Augsburg durch Hans Schönsperger 1523.

Nach dem Exemplar im Germanischen Museum zu Nürnberg.

Facsimile of a page of the New Testament printed at Augsburg by Hans Schoensperger, 1523.

The original is beautifully colored. No modern edition of the Bible can equal this print in splendid and careful work. The illustration shows that at Luther's time the Bible was divided into chapters, but not into verses.

Die Erst Epistel Sanct Johannis.

Das Erst Capitel.

Als do vō anfang war, das wir gehöret haben, das wir gesehen haben mit vnsern augen, das wir beschawet haben, vnd vnser hende betastet haben, von dem wort des lebens, vñ das leben ist erschynen, vñ wir haben gesehen vnd zeügen vñ verkündigen euch das leben das ewig ist, welchs war bey dem vater vnd ist vns erschynen, Was wir gesehen vnnd gehört haben, das verkündigen wir euch, auff das auch je mit vns gemeynschafft habet, vnnd vnser gemeynschafft sey mit dem vater vnd mit seinem sun Jhesu Christo, vnd solchs schreyben wir euch auff das je ewr freud völlig sey.

¶ Vnd das ist die verkündigung, die wir von jm gehört haben vñ euch verkündigen, das Got ein liecht ist, vñ ñ jm ist kein finsternis. So wir sagen, das wir gemeynschafft mit jm haben, vnnd wandelln im finsternis, so liegen wir vnd thun nicht die warheit, So wir aber im liechte wandelln, wie er im liecht ist, so haben wir gemeynschafft vnterenander, vnd das blůt Jhesu Christi macht vns reyn von aller sünde.

So wir sagen, wir haben kein sünd, so verfüren wir vns selbs, vnd die warheit ist nicht vns, so wir aber vnsere sünde bekennen, so ist er trew vnd gerecht, das er vns die sünde erlesset, vñ reynigt vns von aller vngerechtigkeit, So wir sagen, wir haben nicht gesündiget, so machen wir jn zum lugener, vnd sein wort ist nit in vns.

Das Ander Capitel.

Faksimile einer Seite aus der 1. Epistel Johannis im Neuen Testament, gedruckt zu Augsburg durch Hans Schönsperger 1523.
Nach dem Exemplar im Germanischen Museum zu Nürnberg.

Facsimile of a page of the New Testament printed at Augsburg by Hans Schoensperger, 1523.

The original is beautifully colored. No modern edition of the Bible can equal this print in splendid and careful work. The illustration shows that at Luther's time the Bible was divided into chapters, but not into verses.

Spaeth published an hitherto unknown report on Luther's last hours in the LUTHERAN CHURCH REVIEW (1910), and J. Strieder made the authentic reports concerning his dying accessible to all in a cheap pamphlet.[92]

27. A List of Auxiliary Literature

Finally it remains to point out what auxiliary literature must necessarily be used if one wishes to make a true and faithful reproduction of the time in which Luther lived and of the people with whom he was intimately associated.

Especially to be considered here are the complete accounts of the history of the Reformation century. We name Ranke, Egelhaaf, Hæuser, von Bezold, Lamprecht, Brandi, Brieger, and Mentz; Kawerau, Lindsay, and Hermelink.[93]

To him who wishes to work with manuscripts in the libraries and archives, the study of the "Handschriftenproben" of Ficker & Winckelmann, or of Mentz is to be recommended; and the "Addressbuch der deutschen Bibliotheken" by Schwenke is indispensable.[94] The "Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte" of Dahlmann-Waitz, the "List of References on the History of the Reformation in Germany," by Kieffer, and especially the "Quellenkunde zur deutschen Reformationsgeschichte" of Wolf, which is just making its appearance, will render valuable service.[95]

If we wish to specialize, we must have at our disposal Buchwald's publications on Wittenberg,[96] a complete series of biographies[97] and correspondences,[98] a collection of circulars from the first years of the Reformation, the collection of church constitutions by Sehling, and the detailed publications on sources by Cohrs and Reu.[99]

Gothein, Vogt, Kaser, Caro, Stoltze, Sommerlad, Keuckhohn, Harvey *et al.,* discuss the social and economic conditions.[100]

It will readily be seen that the "Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte," "Theolologische Studien und Kritiken," especially "Das Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte," also "Theol. Jahresbericht," now, sorry to relate, defunct, must also be used in this connection. And Hauck's "Realenzyklopædie" will prove to be a veritable treasure chest for every student of the history of the Reformation.

V. THE IMPORTANT LUTHER BIOGRAPHIES

Biographies of Luther based upon all this material we do not possess at this time. As a matter of fact a whole series of Luther biographies has appeared since 1883. Eminently fitted for popular use are those of G. Freytag, Plitt-Petersen, Koestlin, Burk, Lenz, Rade, Buchwald, Stein, Dose, Dorneth, Wackernagel, Græbner, Jacobs, McGiffert, Smith, Preuss, Reu, and Singmaster.[101] Among these Stein, Dose, Dorneth, Wackernagel, Preuss, Reu, and Singmaster are completely pitched in a popular key, whereas the others seek to fulfill scientific demands more or less. Among the German biographies the book of Lenz ranks very high. Only a relatively small book, it does not make the reader acquainted with the details in the life of the Reformer, for it was originally written under the commission of the Berlin Council to be distributed among school pupils, but it takes its contents from the whole and portrays the great moments of developments in wonderful fashion. Of similar character is the short biography of Preuss, the jubilee (1917) gift of the "Allgemeine Luth. Konferenz" for the German people. Larger and, on the whole, very good is the book of Plitt, which Petersen edited upon Plitt's death. Among the English biographies the one of Smith will have to be mentioned in the first place, although he did not always succeed in being just to Luther in his representation. Reu-Rausch is written for the Young People's Societies; the richly illustrated edition is for the Christian home in general. Excellent, but incomplete, is the latest biography of Luther from the pen of Jacobs, which appeared in the first part of the Lutheran Survey. Here also Bezzel's

masterful sketch "Warum wir Luther lieben" has been given us in English translation.[101]

The historian of literature, Berger, has written Luther's life in the interest of history of culture. He wrote, first of all, a volume concerning the development of culture and religion from the times of the Old Church through the entire Middle Ages, in order to proceed thoroughly and to show the time in which Luther makes himself noticed in the development. Hausrath's Luther biography, two volumes, shows many points of contact with Berger's work, although it is entirely original and valuable. H. von Schubert says of it in the preface of the second edition: "Hausrath's Luther is conceived and portrayed as Carlyle conceived and portrayed his heroes, with the mind of an historian and poet. It may be that here and there corrections may be made, that here and there the brush daubed on too vivid colors, but forsooth the highest has been achieved: The great personality has been so vitally understood from its very depths and has been accorded its place in its time, that its visible, world-known and world-recasting influence is made believable." Kawerau says in 1908: "In striking antitheses and in effectual arranging Hausrath has created passages that rank with the most beautiful writings that we have on Luther. One would wish that some of these passages would be taken up into the readers of our children." But as thankful as we are for Hausrath's Luther, still it is not the whole Luther whom he portrayed. The whole Luther will only be portrayed by him who believes and confesses as Luther did.[102]

Koestlin's great Luther work, named before, which appeared in 1883 in an improved edition, sought to satisfy all scientific demands. Luther's life is not only discussed

in its smallest details in this work, but the main contents of almost all of his writings are given to the reader. For that reason it is even today the leading work on Luther, especially since it was thoroughly revised by Kawerau in its fifth edition.

In the fall of 1883 there was added to this the work of Th. Kolde.[103] According to its preface it undertook "to portray Luther on the basis of the complete development of his people, to consider as much as possible the diverse movements and hindrances in regard to the political, social, and scientific phase alongside of the ecclesiastical and religious, in order that through this not only the success of the Reformer, but also the protests which he called forth may be better understood." His diction is not at all weighty, yet the whole representation, in spite of its great simplicity, partakes of the artistic and reveals everywhere the truly learned, who digs deep, who is not only acquainted with what others achieved before him, but who himself, step for step, enriches and intensifies the investigatory work.

Kolde's production was completed in 1893, and Koestlin's Luther in the new edition, revised by Kawerau, in 1903. That explains why we possess no Luther biography today that considers the investigations of the last 12-14 years, as Brieger's otherwise excellent work, "Die Reformation" (cf. above), starts out from a broader viewpoint, and is too briefly written. Perhaps Scheel's "Martin Luther. Vom Katholizismus zur Reformation" 1st vol., 1916), will eventually blossom out into a complete Luther biography. In the meantime Boehmer, in his excellent "Luther im Licht der neuen Forschung" (3d edition, 1914), also translated into English, has provided for this eventuality, so that all the important points in the

life of the Reformer that have suffered changes, are easily seen. For that reason his "kritischer Bericht" is a necessary complement to every earlier Luther biography; something that must not be overlooked. It is very fortunate, therefore, that Huth has given us this book in an American translation, just in that year when on account of England's piracy and the American government's shameful incompetency to assert its rights an unhindered mail service between this country and the birthplace of the Reformer is not possible.[104]

Walther's book, "Fuer Luther wider Rom" (1906), is highly important for our American Lutheran Church, which in the face of a Catholicism steadily growing more blatant must elevate and defend Luther. For in this book he embodied all his former publications against Rome's falsifications in Luther's history, "Luther im neuesten rœmischen Gericht," 2 parts; "Luther's Beruf," "Luther's Glaubensgewissheit," "Das 6te Gebot u. Luther's Leben." He devoted considerable time also to Denifle, and thus he created for us an arsenal filled with trusty weapons, to be used at any time in Luther's defense. Essays like A. Harnack's "Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der Wissenschaft und der Bildung" ([4]1911) and H. v. Treitschke's "Luther und die deutsche Nation" (Preuss. Jahrbuecher), 1883, will ever keep their place; and Walther's latest work on Luther, "Luther's Charakter" (Leipzig, Deichers), 1917, which is his jubilee gift to the church, will for decades prove to be of peculiar importance.

How Luther was judged during four centuries is made plain by R. Eickart (Luther im Urteil bedeutender Maenner, 1905), O. Hegemann (Luther im katholischen Urteil, Eine Wanderung durch vier Jahrunderte, 1905) and H.

Stephan (Luther in den Wandlungen seiner Kirche, 1907).

Finally there still remains to call attention to complete representations of *Luther's theology* and to such publications as have made Luther's historical position the object of their research. Jul. Koestlin, Theo. Harnack and lately Gottschick have represented Luther's theology in our period, whereas W. Walther and R. Eger have attended especially to his ethics. With these are to be compared text-books of History of Dogma, by A. Harnack, Loofs, and Seeberg, and especially the ones by Tschackert and O. Ritschl.[105]

The assertion that Luther *did not usher in the new era,* but really belonged to the Middle Ages, was made by Troeltsch, W. Koehler endeavoring to support it. But Brieger, Loofs, Kattenbusch, Boehmer, and others have energetically opposed it.[106] Troeltsch would hardly have arrived at this conclusion if he had not started with the problem "Jesus or Paul" in the sense of the modern school, and if he had not been firmly convinced from the very outset that there is no such thing as absolute truth and authority. Certainly, if you do not recognize an absolute truth and authority, then you must necessarily relegate Luther to the Middle Ages, where the belief in authority was the Alpha and Omega. But if you are convinced of this, and if, having an open mind for all present-day problems, you still see with gladness and thankfulness in the word of God the highest authority for your religious life, then you will see in Luther the herald of the new age, an age unshackled from human authority—the papacy and science overstepping its rightful boundaries alike, but nevertheless an age whose conscience recognizes itself as bound by the authority of the Divine Word, and entirely bound.

FOOT NOTES

[1] "Insight into the past, without reference to the present; solely with the view to ascertain by means of detailed research work in the sources, what a course events actually took, *i. e.,* to reconstruct as much as possible with the skill of an artist the course of events, after considering all the things that limited the life of the individual as well as the development of the whole"—thus Kolde characterizes the Rankean School (Hauck's Realenzyk, vol. 23, p. 325). When Preserved Smith says in his useful work, "Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters," 1913, vol. 1, p. 5: "By the great Ranke and his school the sources of history most esteemed were public documents—the treaty, the legislative act, the contract, the charter, the edict. There is now a reaction from this method. The memoir, the journal, the private letters are coming into favor again, if only as necessary interpreters of the public act," he does not judge the Rankean School correctly.

[2] "For work in church history there is not, and there can not be any other method than the one long since employed in secular history"—Kolde, "Ueber die Grenzen des historischen Erkennens," 1891, p. 4. Since 1874 he worked according to this principle; about Reuter cf. Kolde's article in Hauck's Enzyk., vol. XVI.

[3] "Since my unforgettable teacher, H. Reuter, pointed out to the modern study of church history new paths in this direction, it is commonly acknowledged to-day, that the church historian must in no small measure take the secular history of the Christian period into the confines of his researches"—Kolde, "Ueber die Grenzen, etc.," p. 4. "It is commonly acknowledged nowadays that secular and church history do not run parallel to each other like two streams, that only touch, when one of them overflows its banks, but, that they continually permeate and limit each other, and that the history of countries, of society, and of the entire intellectual life are no less of the highest importance for

Decoration at the end of the second part of Luther's Old Testament.
Printed by Melchior Lotther at Wittenberg, 1524.

the development of church and religious life than the influence these have exerted at all times upon those other developments"—Kolde, in "Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift," 1900, p. 185. "I can explain my own scientific tendency in that, that, stimulated also by Reuter in this direction, I have emphasized in opposition to the school of Neander, that a real insight into church historical development is only attainable through the closest conjunction with knowledge of the development of the history of the world and the entire intellectual life, and, that especially for the understanding of church history since the end of the Middle Ages a better basis, gained through research work in archives, so long neglected by theology, is very necessary"—Kolde in the year 1903. That he was dominated by these principles from the beginning of his activities as an investigator and also wrote his Luther biography from this viewpoint, we will attempt to show a little later.

[4] Herder of St. Louis brought out the English edition.

[5] W. Walther in "Luther im neuesten roemischen Gericht" I. Halle, 1884, p. 15, "Janssen's History of the German people is very dangerous reading matter; in order to refute every wrong word in this work, one would have to publish such a voluminous work, that there would be hardly any subscribers for it. There are not a few pages in this book where nearly every sentence in some way calls forth our protest. For the individual, smaller parts are prepared with such consummate art, these parts again constructed into larger groups with such skill, and these groups again dovetailed into the whole picture with fairly invisible cement that one would not only have to uncover the errors in these smaller parts, but above all those in the phrases that connect these, in order to refute Janssen thoroughly."

[6] In W. Walther's "Luther im roemischen Gericht," I. Halle, 1874, one can find, p. 16 sq., a complete list of such libelous writings. Majunke's "Luther's Lebensende" is meant here.

[7] Together with L. Pastor's continuation of Janssen's history, L. Pastor, "Erlaeuterungen und Ergaenzungen zu Janssen's Geschichte des deutschen Volkes," published since 1903, is especially to be considered.

[8] Of manuscripts in the first edition, Koestlin only used the Table-Talk collection of Val. Bavarus, which was at Gotha. In

the second edition, he made use of the Table-Talk collection, collected by J. K. Seidemann. Moreover, he had the service especially of Knaake's valuable collection of Luther's printed writings, Luther's first lecture on the Psalms in the time between 1513 and 1516, edited by Seidemann, 1876, in which the maturing of his new theology could be detected, and, if we exclude the less important, Kolde's study of the German Augustinian Congregation.

[9] In "Beitraege zur Reformationsgeschichte," dedicated to Koestlin, 1896, Kawerau supplemented this monogravure.

[10] Thus for example Kawerau confesses (Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1908, p. 343): "I am personally indebted to Kolde especially for the fact that, through his preliminary work, my attention was directed to the letters of the reformers that were in the archives at Zerbst. I was enabled, solely through this clue, to collect the letters of Justus Jonas (with which work I had begun) in such great numbers that I could publish them, 1884 and 1885, in two volumes."

[11] A part of the Vatican Library; so called because it was originally in the Palatinate (at Heidelberg). After the capture of Heidelberg by Maximilian of Bavaria, 1622, Maximilian made a present of it to Pope Gregory XV. In February, 1623, the papal delegate Leo Allatius sent the manuscripts and a large part of the printed matter to Rome.

[12] Concerning this peculiar incident and the ugly features connected with it, for which, however, Ficker is not responsible, we would rather say nothing; cf. "Theologische Literaturzeitung," 1905, column 684.

[13] At that time we immediately acquainted the American Lutheran Church with this through a copy of an article by W. Braun in "Kirchliche Zeitschrift," 1909, pp. 471-496. But the trouble is, that most of our English Lutheran theologians do not consider this German magazine worthy of their notice.

[14] Meissinger, in "Luther's Exegese in der Fruehzeit," 1911, shows that it can not be absolutely ascertained that Luther gave lectures on the Epistle to Titus, furthermore that it is not beyond doubt whether the lectures on Genesis and I Corinthians, which have been attributed to him, are his; in the same connection,

Meissinger characterizes the lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews on basis of the manuscript.

[15] P. Drew's "Disputationen Luthers in den Jahren 1535 bis 1545 an der Universitaet Wittenberg gehalten," Goettingen, 1905.

[16] G. Buchwald "Ungedruckte Predigten Luthers von der Coburg," 1884; G. Buchwald "A. Poachs Sammlung ungedruckter Predigten Luthers," 1884 and 1885; G. Buchwald "Elf bisher ungedruckte Predigten Luthers von 1539," 1888; G. Buchwald "Ungedruckte Predigten Luthers von 1537 bis 1540," 1905.

[17] "Dr. Martin Luther's Tischreden oder Colloquia. Nach Aurifabers erster Ausgabe, mit sorgfaeltiger Vergleichung sowohl der Stangwaldschen als der Selneccerischen Redaktion," edited by K. Ed. Foerstemann, vols. 1-3, Leipzig, 1844-46; vol. 4, edited by E. Bindseil, Berlin, 1848. "D. Martini Lutheri Colloquia . . . e Codice Ms. Bibliothecae Orphanotrophii Halensis cum perpetua collatione editionis Rebenstockianae . . . edita ab Henrico Ernesto Bindseil." 3 vols. Lemgo and Dètmold, 1863-1866. "M. Anton Lauterbachs, Diakoni zu Wittenberg, Tagebuch auf das Jahr, 1538, die Hauptquelle der Tischreden Luthers," edited from the Ms. by J. K. Seidemann, Dresden, 1872.

[18] Kawerau in Hauck's Realenzyk, 2 p. 292, "Among Aurifaber's collection of Luther's last table-talks reproduced from Aurifaber's own notations, only those are of substantial worth that he wrote first. They originate from his own pen and bear the mark of his cumbersome and wordy style. Most of these notations are based on A. Lauterbach's preparatory work. Lauterbach had already worked over some notations from Luther's table, some of his own, some of others which originally had been chronologically arranged, into a large collection, which is not to be confused with his diary, edited by Seidemann in 1872. This collection is arranged partly according to the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith and partly alphabetically after the first letters of Latin catch-words (edited by Bindseil in Latin, 1863), Lauterbach went over his work again in order to improve the arrangement; the edition of Rebenstock, 1571, is the print of this revision in which the author also translated all the German phrases into Latin. Aurifaber had for years zealously collected table-talks of Luther from the notations of others (Cordatus, Schlaginhaufen, V. Dietrich, Matthesius et al.). He also pos-

sessed for his use a copy of the collection of Lauterbach which contained a revision of the Ms. at Halle. Furthermore, he had the use of a smaller collection in which talks of Luther were systematically arranged and which was already completely translated into German (preserved in Wolfenbuettel: 878 Helmst.). Aurifaber worked the second part of Lauterbach's translation into the first and interlarded his collection with sayings from other notations. At the same time he combined and interlarded the texts of different versions of the same conversations, or again offered the same conversation in different recensions at different places. Like the German collection of Wolfenbuettel, which he took over word for word into his collection, he translated Latin pieces into German. Therefore his work, which has conserved Luther's table-talks until the present day, possesses only secondary or even less value as a collection of original talks, the work originally being meant to serve its readers only in an edifying and entertaining way. The historical investigator must leave it out of consideration and go back to original notations still in existence. The editor committed many errors and was often desultory; his practice of combining parallel texts is critically questionable; his usually apt translations often become verbose paraphrases. There can, however, be no thought of intentional fraud here, although at times his prejudices show themselves quite plainly.

[19] "Tagebuch ueber Dr. Martin Luther gefuehrt von Dr. Conrad Cordatus, 1537," published for the first time by H. Wrampelmeyer, Halle, 1885.

[20] Compare with this the explanations of Kroker in vol. 2 of the Table-Talk Collection in the Luther edition of Weimar, p. xx ff.

[21] "Tischreden Luthers aus den Jahren 1531 und 1532 nach den Aufzeichnungen von Johann Schlaginhaufen," published from a Ms. at Muenchen by William Preger, Leipzig, 1888.

[22] "Analecta Lutherana et Melanchthoniana. Tischreden Luthers und Ausspruche Melanchthons, hauptsaechlich nach Aufzeichnungen des Johannes Matthesius. Aus der Nuernberger Handschrift des Germanischen Museums mit Benutzung von D. Joh. Karl Seidemanns Vorarbeiten herausgegeben und erlaeutert von Georg Loesche. Gotha 1892.

[23] Luther's Tischreden in der Matthesischen Sammlung," published by Ernst Kroker from a Ms. of the city library at Leipzig (Schriften der Koeniglichen Saechsischen Kommission fuer Geschichte VIII), Leipzig, 1903.

[24] Koenigliches Gymnasium zu Clausthal. Festschrift zu der am 30. Sept., 1905, stattfindenden Einweihung des neuen Schulgebaeudes. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1905.

[25] Wilhelm Meyer "Ueber Lauterbachs und Aurifabers Sammlungen der Tischreden Luthers (Abhandlungen der Koeniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen. Philolog.-historische Klasse, N. F. 1. Band Nr. 2), Berlin, 1896.

[26] "Luther's Table Talk." A critical Study by Preserved Smith (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. XXVI, No. 2), New York, 1907.

[27] This is a statement of the church historian Ignatius von Doellinger who wrote, as follows, concerning Luther in 1871: "Luther's predominant intellectual powers and his wonderful versatility made him the man of his time and of his people. And this is true in every sense. There never was a German who knew his people so deeply and was so completely understood by them, I would even say, so taken into the hearts and minds of his people, as this Augustinian monk of Wittenberg. Mind and spirit of the Germans were in his hand, as the lyre in the hand of the artist. For he gave to his people more than one man ever did in all Christendom: language, catechism, Bible, churchsong. Everything his antagonists possessed, to oppose or supplant him with, appeared feeble, flat and colorless alongside of his all-compelling eloquence. They stammered, he spoke. He alone, impressed upon the German soul as upon the German language the ineffaceable seal of his soul. And even those Germans who hate him from the bottom of their souls and who look upon him as an heretic and seducer from the true religion, even they can not do otherwise than talk with his words and think with his thoughts." (Doellinger, Die Wiedervereinigung der christlichen Kirchen. Noerdlingen, 1888, p. 53.)

[28] The author had the pleasure of looking over a large part of the proof sheets of the immense volume containing the catechisms.

[29] W. Moellenberg in "Zeitschrift des Harz-vereins," 1906, p. 169-193. Compare also: G. Kutzke, Aus Luthers Heimat. Vom Erhalten und Erneuern, 1914.

[30] G. Oergel "Vom jungen Luther," 1889; P. Drews in "Theologische Rundschau," 1900, p. 211ff; Kawerau in "Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, 1900, p. 163-174.

[31] H. J. Kaemmel "Geschichte des deutschen Schulwesens im Uebergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit," 1882. J. Mueller "Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichts bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts," 1882. J. Mueller "Vor- und fruehreformatorische Schulordnungen und Schulvertraege" (Sammlung selten gewordener paedagogischer Schriften), 1885, 1886. J. Mueller "Die Anfaenge des saechsischen Schulwesens," 1887 (Neues Archiv fuer Saechsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde). J. Knepper "Das Schul- und Unterrichtswesen in Elsass von den Anfaengen bis gegen 1530," 1905. E. Schmid "Das vorreformatorische Schulwesen in Wuerttemberg," 1906. G. Bauch "Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens vor der Reformation," 1909. cf. also Janssen-Pastor "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, etc.," vol. 1. cf. also R. Doebner "Annalen und Akten der Brueder des gemeinsamen Lebens im Luechtenhof zu Hildesheim, Hannover," 1903, and G. Boerner "Die Brueder des gemeinsamen Lebens in Deutschland" (in "Deutsche Geschichtsblaetter," 1905, No. 9).

[32] G. Buchwald "Luther im Hause der Frau Cotta zu Eisenach," 1888.

[33] G. Oergel "Beitraege zur Geschichte des Erfurter Humanismus" (Mitteilungen des Vereins fuer die Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt, No. 15); "Zur Erinnerung an die Universitaet Erfurt" (ibid. No. 16, 1894); "Lebens- und Studienordnung auf der Universitaet Erfurt waehrend des Mittelalters" (Jahrbuecher der Akademie zu Erfurt, Neue Folge, No. 19); "Der junge Luther," 1889. Th. Kolde "Die deutsche Augustinerkongregation und Johann Staupitz," 1879; "Das religioese Leben in Erfurt beim Ausgang des Mittelalters," 1898. G. Bauch "Die Universitaet Erfurt in Zeitalter des Fruehhumanismus," 1904. H. Hermelink, "Die theologische Fakultaet in Tuebingen vor der Reformation, 1477-1524," 1906; "Die religioesen Reformbestre-

bungen des deutschen Humanismus," 1907. O. Scheel "Martin Luther. Vom Katholicismus zur Reformation." Vol. 1, 1916.

[34] cf. G. Plitt "Jodocus Trutvetter von Eisenach, der Lehrer Luthers," 1876. N. Paulus "Bartholomaeus Arnoldi von Usingen," 1893 (Strassburger Theol. Studien 1, 3). Gabriel Biel's main work was "Collectorium in libros Quattuor Sententiarum."

[36] Th. Kolde "P. Denifle, seine Beschimpfung Luthers und der evangelischen Kirche," 1904. R. Seeberg "Luther und Luthertum in der neuesten katholischen Beleuchtung," 1904. J. Haussleiter "Luther im roemischen Urteil," 1904. Th. Brieger in "Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte," 26, p. 382 ff. W. Walther "Denifles Luther, eine Ausgeburt der roemischen Moral," 1904. Denifle answered with "Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung. Principielle Auseinandersetzung mit A. Harnack und R. Seeberg," 1904. cf. also II. supplementary vol. of the Braunschweig-Berlin Luther edition, in which Scheel furnishes a commentary of 202 pages for Luther's treatise on monastic vows, in which he refutes Denifle in every particular.

[37] K. Benrath "Luther im Kloster, 1505-1525. Zum Verstaendnis und zur Abwehr," 1905. W. Braun "Die Bedeutung der Konkupiscenz in Luther's Leben und Lehre," 1908.

[38] J. Hauszleiter, Die Universitaet Wittenberg vor dem Eintritt Luthers, 1903.—G. Bauch, Wittenberg und die Scholastik (Neues Archiv f. saechsische Geschichte 1897, p. 285 ff).—E. Haupt, Was unsere Universitaeten Wittenberg verdanken, 1902.

[39] Hausrath, Martin Luthers Romfahrt, 1894.—G. Tuerk, Luthers Romfahrt, Schulprogramm, Meiszen, 1897. — Th. Elze, Luthers Reise nach Rom, 1899.—G. Kawerau, Von Luthers Romfahrt 1901 (Deutsch-Evangelische Blaetter 26 p. 69-102.)—K. Todt, Luthers Romreise (Preuszische Jahrbuecher, 117 p. 297ff.), 1904. —H. Boehmer, Luthers Romfahrt, 1914.—Compare also O. Clemen, Beitraege z. Ref. III p. 89; N. Paulus, Historisches Jahrbuch 1891, p. 68f; 1901, p. 110ff; 1903, p. 72ff. Historisch-Politische Blaetter 1912, 1 p. 126ff.—Compare: F. M. Nichols, Mirabilia urbis Romae, London, Ellis & Elvey, 1889.

[40] What experience Luther made when, on his knees, he ascended the 28 steps of the Scala Santa of Pilate, has been handed down to us by an autograph of his son Paul, who in 1582 wrote:

"Anno 1544 Hatt mein liebster Vatter gottsehliger yhnn gegenwarth seiner Tischgenger vnd vnsser aller die gantze historica (?) vhonn seiner reisenn gegenn Rom so ehr an. 1510 yhnn etlichen geschefften thun müssen, erzelet, vnd vnter anderm mit grossen freudenn bekandt, das ehr doselbstenn durch den geist Jesu Christi sei zum erkentnus der warheitt des heyligenn Evangelii gekommen dergestalt vnd also: da ehr seine preces graduales in scala Lateranensi verrichten wollenn, ist ihme alsbald eingefallenn der spruch des propheten Abacuk, welchenn Paulus ihm erstenn capitel zunn Roemern eingefüret: nämlich: der gerechte wirdt seines glaubens lebenn. Hatt darauf sein gebett bleybenn lassenn. Und wie ehr gegen Wittenberger kommen, nichts anderst als dieselb epistel Pauli für sein hochst fundament gehaltenn." But this note evidently contains gross mistakes and is by no means very trustworthy. The Historians, therefore, were inclined to treat the whole occurrence as unhistorical. Buchwald, however, proved, 1911 (Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte 32, p. 606-607), that Luther said in a sermon on November 15, 1545 (not yet published; extant in the Ratsschulbibliothek at Zwickau, Cod. No. XXVIII): "Sic Romae wollt meum avum ex purgatorio erloesen, gieng die treppen hinauf Pilati, orabam quolibet pater noster. Erat enim persuasio, qui sic oraret redimeret animam. Sed in fastigium veniens cogitabam: quis scit an sit verum? Non valet ista oratio etc." So Luther really ascended the staircase, but the inner experience on this occasion was doubt, as he had already experienced it as a monk in his prayers, and these doubts in no way brought about a turn in his inner life. This fits in with everything we know otherwise in connection with Luther's journey to Rome; therefore, even though it proved to be of the greatest importance to Luther *later on,* confirming him in the belief of the justness of his cause, it in no wise promoted any development in his inner life already *at that time.*—Compare Boehmer, p. 158-160 and M. Reu, Luthers Romfahrt (Kirchliche Zeitschrift), 1916.

[41] That Luther had been in Koeln was formerly unknown, for a passage in Lauterbach's Table Talks of 1538 (ed. Seidemann p. 43) had been overlooked. Boehmer again called attention to this fact, proving it, however, also by a sermon of Luther that was published for the first time in W. E. vol. 34, 1 (p. 22).—Boehmer also completely refutes Grisar's misrepresentations of

Title page of Luther's first edition of the entire Bible.
Wittenberg, 1534.

Luther in connection with his journey to Rome and with the cause of this journey, the dispute of the Order.

[42] H. Steinlein, Luthers Doktorat 1912 (Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift, October number; also separate).

[43] O. Scheel, Luther's Rueckblick auf seine Bekehrung in der Praefatio zu seinen gesammelten Werken (Zeitschr. f. Theologie und Kirche, 21) 1911. G. Kawerau, Luther in katholischer Beleuchtung, Halle 1911. H. Steinlein Kritische Anmerkungen zur neuesten katholischen Lutherbiographie (Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift) 1911.—O. Scheel, Ausschnitte aus dem Leben des jungen Luther (Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte 32, 2) 1911.—J. Hauszleiter, Luthers "Luegen" in Grisars Darstellung (Allgem. Evang. Luth. Kirchenzeitung) 1912.—Prof. Merkle of Wuerzburg, a Roman Catholic, reviewed the book in a remarkably objective way in "Hochland" 1912.

[44] The expression "locus secretus," which Cordatus uses, does by no means necessarily mean privy, and when Khumer's text reads "Turm und Kloake," so this reading is entirely uncertain, being very probably only an incorrect solution of the abbreviation "cl." found in Schlaginhaufen's text. The correct solution seems to be claustrum or cella. Lauterbach's text offers: "in hac turri et hypocausto."

[45] H. Hering, Luther's erste Vorlesungen (Theol. Studien u. Kritiken), 1887.—A. W. Dieckhoff, Luthers erste Vorlesungen ueber den Psalter (Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben), 1883.—A. W. Dieckhoff, Luthers Lehre in ihrer ersten Gestalt, 1887.

[46] J. Ficker, Die Anfaenge reformatorischer Bibelauslegung 1908 (1. vol. p. XLVI—C II).—K. A. Meissinger, Luthers Exegese in der Fruehzeit, 1911.

[47] A. W. Dieckhoff, Luthers Lehre in ihrer ersten Gestalt 1887.—A. W. Hunzinger, Der Neuplatonismus Luthers in der Psalmenvorlesung von 1513-1516. Ein Beitrag zum Augustinismus Luthers, 1906.—A. W. Hunzinger, Das Furchtproblem in der katholischen Lehre von Augustin bis Luther, 1906.—A. W. Hunzinger, Luther und die deutsche Mystik (Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift), 1908.—H. Hermelink, Die theol. Fakultaet in Tuebingen, 1906.—W. Braun, Die Bedeutung der Konkupiscenz in Luthers Lehre und Leben, 1908.—J. Ficker, Luthers Kommentar zum Roemerbrief,

1908.—O. Scheel, Die Entwicklung Luthers bis zum Abschluss der Vorlesung ueber den Roemerbrief, 1910.—O. Scheel, Dokumente zur Entwicklung Luthers, 1911.—A. V. Mueller, Luthers theologische Quellen. Seine Verteidigung gegen Denifle und Grisar, 1912.—J. v. Walter, Vom jungen Luther (Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift) 1914. Fr. Loofs, Dogmengeschichte, 4. ed. 1906.—H. Boehmer, Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung, 3. ed. 1913.—O. Ritschl, Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus, 1908, 1912.

[48] Aloys Schulte, Die Fugger in Rom 1495-1523. Mit Studien zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Finanzwesens jener Zeit, 2 vols. 1904.—Compare also P. Kalkoff, Zu den roemischen Verhandlungen ueber die Bestaetigung des Erzb. Albrecht von Mainz im Jahre 1514 (Archiv f. Reform.) 1903.

[49] E. Bratke, Luthers 95 Thesen und ihre dogmengeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen, 1884.—A. W. Dieckhoff, Der Ablasszstreit, dogmengeschichtlich dargestellt, 1886.—Th. Brieger, Das Wesen des Ablasses am Ausgang des Mittelalters, 1897.—Th. Brieger, article "Indulgenzen" in Hauck's R. E. 1902.—Th. Brieger, Ein Leipziger Professor im Dienst des Baseler Konzils (Beitraege zur saechsischen Kirchengeschichte) 1903.—Joh. Ditterle, Die Summae Confessorum von ihren Anfaengen an bis zu Silvester Prierias unter besonderer Beruecksichtigung ihrer Bestimmungen ueber den Ablasz (Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.) 1903-1907.—N. Paulus, Raimund Peraudi als Ablaszkommissar (Hist. Jahrbuch d. Goerres-Gesellschaft) 1900; other articles ibidem 1907-1909. On the origin of the indulgence consult especially, A. Gottlob, Kreuzablasz und Almosenablasz, 1906. Almosenentwicklung und Ablaszinhalt im 11. Jarh. 1907, und A. W. Koeniger, Der Ursprung des Ablasses, 1907.

[50] N. Paulus, Johann Tetzel, 1899; Comp. supplementary notes in the "Katholik" 1899, 1 p. 484 ff. 1901, 1, p. 453 ff. 554 ff.

[51] W. Koehler, Dokumente zum Ablaszstreit von 1517, 1902.—W. Koehler, Luthers 95 Thesen samt seinen Resolutionen sowie den Gegenschriften des Wimpina, Tetzel, Eck und Prierias und den Antworten Luthers darauf, 1903.—Th. Brieger, Die Gliederung der 95 Thesen Luthers. Studien und Versuche zur neueren Geschichte, Max Lenz gewidmet, 1910. (Hermelink gives a short sketch of Brieger's analysis in his Geschichte der Reformation 1912 p. 66).

[52] K. Mueller, Luthers roemischer Prozesz (Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.) 1903.—A. Schulte, Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven, VI., 1903.—P. Kalkoff, Zu Luthers roemischem Prozesz (Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte) 1905 and 1910-1912.—P. Kalkoff, Forschungen zu Luthers roemischem Prozesz (Lib. of the Prussian hist. Inst. in Rome 2 vols.) 1905.—Compare N. Paulus, Die deutschen Dominikaner i. Kampf gegen Luther (Erlæuterungen u. Ergænzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes IV, 1. 2).—P. Kalkoff, Die von Kajetan verfasste Ablaszdekretale u. s. Verhandlungen mit dem Kurfuersten in Weimar 1519 (Archiv f. Refgesch.) 1912.—Compare Kirchliche Zeitschrift 1916, p. 401 ff. and 1917, p. 101 ff. Kalkoff also touches upon questions directly or indirectly connected with Rome's stand over against Luther in the following writings: Die Anfaenge der Gegenreformation in den Niederlanden, 1903. 1904; Die Beziehungen der Hohenzollern zur Kurie unter dem Einfluss der lutherischen Frage, 1906. W. Capito, im Dienste Erzbischof Albrechts von Mainz, 1907; Aleander gegen Luther, 1908.

[53] Th. Kolde, Friedrich der Weise und die Anfaenge der Reformation, 1881.—J. Koestlin, Friedrich der Weise und die Schloszkirche zu Wittenberg 1892.—Th. Kolde, Friedrich der Weise (Haucks R. E. vol. 6) 1899.—P. Kalkoff, Ablässe und Reliquienverehrung an d. Schloszkirche z. Wittenberg, 1907.—Compare also R. Bruck, Friedrich d. Weise als Foerderer der Kunst, 1903.

[54] H. A. Creuzberg, Karl von Miltiz 1490-1529, 1907.—P. Kalkoff, Die Miltiziade, 1911.

[55] F. Seitz, Der authenische Text der Leipziger Disputation von 1519. Aus unbenutzten Quellen herausgegeben, 1903.—Th. Brieger, Einiges ueber die Leipziger Disputation von 1519 (Die Universitaet, Leipzig, Gedenkblatt), 1909.

[56] M. Perlbach und J. Luther, Ein neuer Bericht ueber Luthers Verbrennung der Bannbulle (Sitzungsbericht der K. Preusz. Akademie d. Wiss.), 1907.—O. Clemen, Ueber die Verbrennung der Bannbulle durch Luther (Theol. Stud. u. Kritiken), 1908.

[57] H. Preusz, Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist im spaeteren Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der konfessionellen Polemik, 1906. —H. Preusz, Das Froemmigkeitsmotiv von Luthers Tesseradekas

und seine mittelalterlichen Wurzeln (Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift) 1915.

[58] R. A. Lipsius, Luthers Lehre von der Busze, 1892.—W. Herrmann, Die Busze des evang. Christen (Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche) 1891.—A. Galley, Die Busslehre Luthers und ihre Darstellung in neuester Zeit, 1900.—E. Fischer, Zur Geschichte d. ev. Beichte, 1902-03.—E. Fischer, Luthers Sermo de poenitentia von 1518, 1906.—C. Stange, Die aeltesten ethischen Disputationen Luthers, 1904.—Compare also, K. Thieme, Die sittliche Triebkraft des Glaubens, 1895.—E. Rietschel, Luthers Anschauung von der Unsichtbarkeit und Sichtbarkeit der Kirche (Studion und Kritiken) 1900.

[58a] L. Lemme, Die drei grossen Reformationsschriften Luthers, 1884.—K. Benrath, An den christl. Adel deutscher Nation etc, 1884.—W. Koehler, Luthers Schrift an d. christl. Adel im Spiegel d. Kultur u. Zeitgeschichte, 1895. Compare also H. Meltzer, Luther als deutscher Mann, 1905.

[59] The "syllogismus cornutus" is a nonsensical deduction after the example: "What one never has lost one still possesses. You have never lost horns, therefore you have horns." The word *cornutus* was soon divorced from this specific use, and was given a wider meaning. An "interrogatio cornuta" is a question with a double meaning, a pun. "Non cornutus," therefore means, void of all sophistry, to the point.

[60] Th. Kolde, Luther und der Reichstag zu Worms, 1883.—Kluckhohn u. Wrede, Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Karl V, 1903. 1906.—Th. Brieger, Neue Mitteilungen ueber Luther in Worms, 1883.—Th. Brieger, Aleander u. Luther 1521. Die vervollstaendigten Aleanderdepeschen nebst Untersuchungen ueber den Wormser Reichstag, 1884.—P. Kalkoff, Die Depeschen des Nuntius Aleander vom Wormser Reichstag uebersetzt u. erlaeutert, 1886, 2 ed. 1897.—P. Kalkoff, Briefe, Depeschen u. Berichte ueber Luther vom Wormser Reichstag, 1898.—P. Kalkoff, Die Beziehungen der Hohenzollern zur Kurie unter dem Einfluss der luth. Frage (Quellen u. Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven) 1906.—P. Kalkoff, Aleander gegen Luther, 1908.—Th. Kolde, Der Reichsherold Casper Sturm und seine literarische Taetigkeit (Arch. f. Refgesch.) 1907.—R. Meiszinger, Ohne Hoerner und ohne Zaehne (Arch. f. Refgesch.) 1906.—H. Preusz,

Was bedeutet die Formel "convictus testimoniis scripturarum aut ratione evidente" in Luthers ungehoernter Antwort zu Worms? (Theol. Stud. u. Krit.), 1908.—Confer also Koestlin-Kawerau, Martin Luther, s. Leben u. s. Schriften 5. ed. 1903, p. 772.—R. Mueller, Luthers Schlussworte in Worms (Philothesia fuer P. Kleinert) 1907.—H. v. Schubert offers a good summary of the whole question in: Quellen u. Forschungen ueber Luther auf dem Reichstag zu Worms (Theol. Rundschau), 1899.—Th. Brieger, Zwei bisher unbekannte Entwuerfe des Wormser Edikts, 1910.—P. Kalkoff, Die Entstehung des Wormser Edikts, 1910.—P. Kalkoff, Der Humanist Hermann von der Busche u. die lutherfreundliche Kundgebung auf d. Wormser Reichstag vom 20, Apr. 1521 (Arch. f. Refgesch.) 1911.—Confer also P. Kalkoff, Die Romzugverhandlungen auf dem Wormser Reichstag, 1911, und: Die Anfaenge der Gegenreformation in den Niederlanden, 1903 u. 1904.

[61] Max Lenz, Die Wartburgzeit Luthers (Universitaetsprogramm) 1883.

[62] W. Krafft, Ueber die deutsche Bibel vor Luther, Universitaetsprogramm, 1883 (confer also L. Keller, Die Waldenser und die deutschen Bibeluebersetzungen, 1886, und L. Keller, Die Reformation und die aelteren Reformparteien, 1885).—W. Walther, Die deutsche Bibeluebersetzung des Mittelalters, 1889-1892.—W. Kurrelmeyer, The Genealogy of the Prelutheran Bibles (The Journal of Germanic Philology), 1900.—W. Kurrelmeyer, Die erste deutsche Bibel, 1904 ff.—W. Walther, Die Unabhaengigkeit der Bibeluebersetzung Luther's (N. Kirchl. Zeitschrift), 1890.—W. Walther, Luther's Bibeluebersetzung kein Plagiat, 1891.—G. Keyszner, Die drei Psalterbearbeitungen Luther's von 1524, 1528 und 1531, 1890.—G. Kawerau, Hier. Emser, 1898.

[63] We refer to "Vedder, The Reformation in Germany" (1914). Here we read on page 171 not only: "This version was certainly in the possession of Luther and was certainly used by him in the preparation of his version. This fact, once entirely unsuspected, and then hotly denied, has been proved to a demonstration by the 'deadly parallel.' It appears from a verse by verse comparison that this old German Bible was in fact so industriously used by Luther, that the only accurate description of Luther's version is to call it a careful revision of the older text," but on

page 170 we also read: "It would be difficult in any case to believe that a complete translation of the entire New Testament could have been made by a man of Luther's limited attainment in Greek, and with the imperfect apparatus that he possessed in the short space of ten weeks. . . . Any minister to-day who has had a Greek course of a college and seminary is a far better scholar than Luther. Let such a man, if he thinks Luther's achievement possible, attempt the accurate translation of a single chapter of the New Testament—such a translation as he would be willing to print under his own name—and multiply the time consumed by the 260 chapters. He will be speedily convinced that the feat attributed to Luther is an impossible one." And just this we pronounce childish argumentation. We could call attention to the fact that R. P. Olivetan completed his French translation of the entire Bible, printed 1536, in one year; that Luther finished his writing against Sylvester Prierias, that in Walch's edition fills 80 columns, in two days; that Luther was in fact a linguistic genius; that an educated man in the thirties acquires a dead language much faster and more thoroughly than a youth from 16 to 20, and this all the more, the dearer and more valuable, yes, even decisive for his whole life, the contents of a book written in that language is to him; that Luther since 1519 had been a careful reader of Homer, writing many marginal notes into the copy which Melanchthon had presented to him (this copy is extant at London, cf. Pr. Smith, Notes from English libraries, Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch. 32, pp. 111-115; compare also: O. G. Schmidt, Luther's Bekanntschaft mit den alten Klassikern, 1883). We also could emphasize the important fact that Luther for more than ten years was well versed in the contents of the New Testament through the Vulgata. But aside from this we would like to ask Vedder whether he has forgotten that Luther, as can be proved, since 1516 used the Greek original in the preparation of his lectures, and certainly not seldom also when he prepared his sermons, and that it more and more became the foundation for his whole theological work; that he, before his stay at the Wartburg, had treated the Epistle to the Romans, Hebrews, Galatians, perhaps also the Epistle to Titus and the first to the Corinthians in lectures, the Epistle to the Galatians beside this also in a voluminous commentary; in short, that

Luther lived and moved in the New Testament, and, finally, that the printing of his translation had not begun for two months after his return from the Wartburg, and that it was not completed before six months had passed? During this time he, together with Melanchthon and other occasional helpers, once more revised the whole in a most painstaking manner.

[64] G. Bossert, Die Entstehung von Luthers Wartburg-Postille (Theol. Studien und Kritiken), 1897.—W. Koehler, Zu Luthers Wartburg-Postille (Zeitschr. fuer wissenschaftl. Theol.), 1898.—O. Scheel, Anmerkungen und Erlaeuterungen zur Schrift Luthers ueber die Moenchsgeluebde (2. suppl. vol. of the Braunschweig-Berlin Luther edition), 1905.—E. Klinger, Luther und der deutsche Volksaberglaube, 1912.

[64a] O. Undritz, Die Entwicklung des Schriftprinzips bei Luther in den Anfangsjahren der Reformation (N. kirchl. Zeitschrift) 1897.—H. Preusz, Die Entwicklung des Schriftprinzips bei Luther bis zur Leipziger Disputation, 1901.—W. Walther, Das Erbe der Reformation im Kampf der Gegenwart. 1. Heft; Der Glaube an das Wort Gottes, 1903.—O. Scheel, Luthers Stellung zur H. Schrift, 1902.—K. Thimme, Luthers Stellung zur H. Schrift, 1903.—K. F. Noesgen, Die luth. Lehre von der Inspiration nach ihrer geschichtlichen Gestalt, ihrer Eigentuemlichkeit und Haltbarkeit, 1909.—O. Zoeckler, Luther als Ausleger des A. Testaments gewuerdigt auf Grund s. groesseren Genesis-kommentars, 1884.—F. Grundt, Luthers Verhaeltnis zur allegorischen Schriftauslegung (Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissensch.) 1889.—K. Eger, Luthers Auslegg d. A. Testaments nach ihren Grundsaetzen u. ihrem Charakter untersucht an der Hand s. Predigten ueber das 1. u. 2. Buch Mosis, 1900.—G. Kawerau, Die Schicksale des Jakobusbriefes im 16. Jahrhundert (Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft) 1889.—W. Walther, Fuer Luther wider Rom. 1906.—W. Walther, Luthers spaetere Ansicht ueber den Jakobusbrief (in: Zur Wertung der deutschen Reformation), 1909.—J. Leipolt, Die Kritik des Reformationszeitalters am neutestl. Kanon (Deutsche evang. Blaetter), 1906.—F. Kropatscheck, Das Schriftprinzip der luth. Kirche, vol. I, 1904.—R. Seeberg, Occam (Hauck's R. E.), 1904.—O. Ritschl, Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus I, 1908. —P. Tschackert, Die Entstehung der luth. und reform. Kirchenlehre, 1910.

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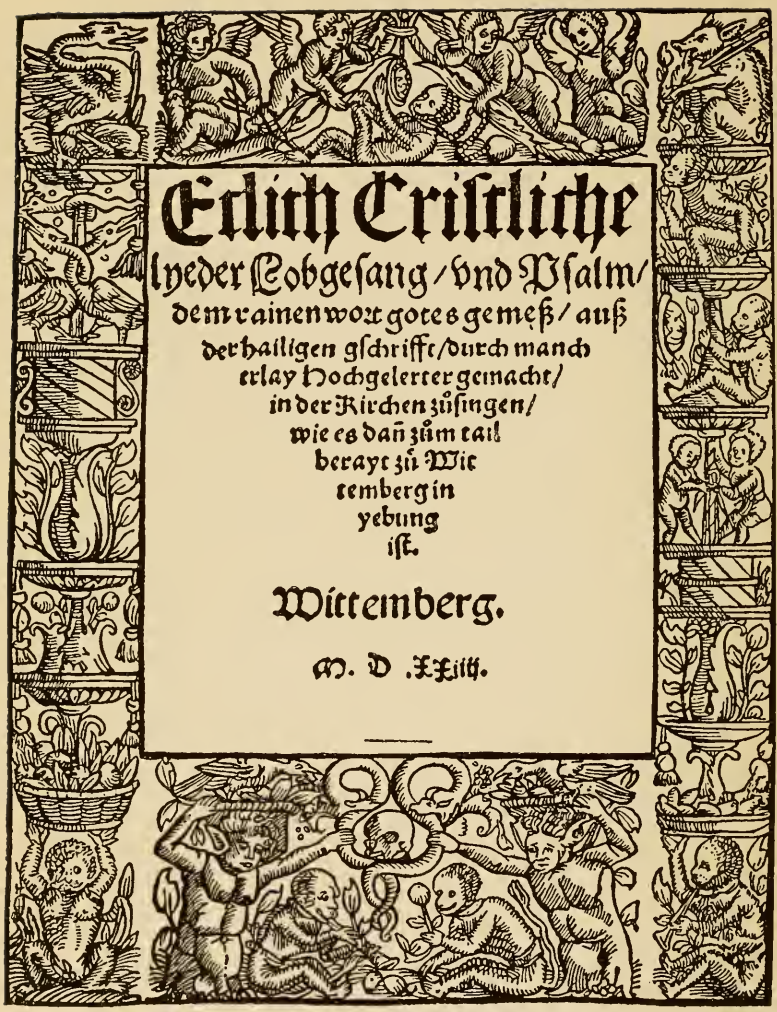


Title page of the first evangelical hymn book.

Printed at Wittenberg. It contained eight hymns, four of which were by Luther: Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein; Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh' darein; Es spricht der Unweisen Mund; Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir.

Reformationszeit (Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart III), 1912.—H. Zerener, Studie ueber das beginnende Eindringen der luth. Bibeluebersetzung in die deutsche Literatur, 1913. Zerener points out very instructively what an influence Luther's German New Testament had on the German literature of 1522 to 1525, and he bases his conclusions on not less than 681 writings that appeared during these few years.

[64c] *Neubauer* writes on Luther's language, l. c. p. 21ff: Luther ist wesenlich *Prosaiker,* fuer die Dichtung kommt er nur als kirchlicher Lyriker in Betracht. Auch als Prosaiker muss seine Bedeutung richtig erfasst werden. Luther ist zu betrachten als ein populaerer Volksschriftsteller, dem der *Inhalt* seiner Schriften die Hautsache ist, nicht die kunstvoll angelegte, ausgestaltete und gerundete Form. Seine Zwecke sind keine aesthetischen, sondern rein practische. Wie er beinahe alles und jedes der Weltdinge und Weltverhaeltnisse mit einer manchmal uns beinahe beaengstigenden Konsequenz in dem Licht des Evangeliums betrachtet, so ist sein einziger Zweck bei allem, was er geschrieben, religioese oder ueberhaupt sittliche Bildung seines Volks. Die heilige Sache, und nur die Sache ist das Treibende auch in seiner Darstellung, alle aesthetischen oder kuenstlerischen Ruecksichten muessen dem weichen, wie in seinem reformatorischen Wirken um der Sache willen, der zu dienen er sich berufen fuehlt, alle persoenlichen Ruecksichten hintenan gesetzt werden. Nichts ist falscher, als wenn man in Leitfaeden der Literatur Redensarten findet wie diese: "Alles, was er schreibt und spricht, traegt das Gepraege kuenstlerischer Vollendung." Nur von der Bibeluebersetzung gilt das in vollem Sinn, an ihr hat er sein Leben lang gebessert, gefeilt und geformt. Freilich hat er auch an seinen Fabeln, wie seine jetzt aufgefundene Handschrift zeigt, erstaunlich herumgebessert, ebenso an seinen sonstigen Schriften bei neuen Auflagen in Einzelheiten vielfach gebessert, aber mehr in Ruecksicht auf die Sprache als auf die kuenstlerische Form seiner Darstellung. Von dem "Gepraege kuenstlerischer Vollendung" zu reden, verraet voellige Unwissenheit. Seine Schriften in der Form kuenstlerisch zu vollenden, dazu haette dem vielbeschaeftigten Mann, der neben seiner anderen reichen Taetigkeit manchmal in einem Jahr eine erstaunliche Menge Druckschriften abfasste, schon die Zeit gefehlt, wenn er

es ueberhaupt gewollt haette. Aber er konnte es auch nicht einmal wollen, oder er haette anders sein muessen seinem ganzen Wesen, Anlage und Temperament nach, als er war und sein wollte. Und er haette dann seinen Schriften geradezu ihren eigenartigen Charakter nehmen muessen, auf dem ihre grosse Wirkung bei dem Volke beruhte. Zwar klar und uebersichtlich angelegt sind alle seine Schriften, aber das Eifern um die Sache durchbricht sehr haeufig die Form und stoert die Anlage. In breitspuriger Gedankenentwicklung, die gern alles mitnimmt, was gerade am Wege liegt, wenn es der Sache dienen kann, fliesst oft der Strom der Rede dahin; alles was er auf dem Herzen hat muss heraus; in seinem Eifer tut er sich oft kein Genuege, legt sich kein Mass auf und bringt so dieselbe Sache, die abgetan schien, nicht selten mehrfach wieder. Oder er reiht, besonders in den auf die Massen berechneten Streit- und Flugschriften in bequemer und lockerer Weise der Gedankenentwicklung Abschnitt an Abschnitt, und zwar in der aller Kunst und Anordnung baren Form blosser Aufzaehlung: Zum ersten, Zum zweiten etc. So erhalten manche seiner Schriften nicht selten etwas *Formloses* fuer *uns,* die wir heute eine knappere und mehr gedraengte Darstellung fordern.

Aber mit diesen *Maengeln der Form,* die uebrigens nicht in allen Schriften gleichmaessig hervortreten, haengt aufs engste zusammen der eigenartige Vorzug, der Reiz, das *Packende Fortreissende* der Luther'schen Schriften. Nicht bloss in der frischen, lebendigen, anschaulichen Sprache, von der oben die Rede war, liegt dies, sondern auch in dem Lebendigen, der frischen Unmittelbarkeit seines Stils und seiner Darstellung ueberhaupt. Luther schreibt und redet, und beides ist bei ihm eins, immer frisch heraus aus dem jeweiligen Eindruck, der unmittelbaren Stimmung des Augenblicks. Auch beim Schreiben sind ihm die, fuer die er schreibt, an und gegen die er seine Worte richtet, moegen es seine Widersacher oder Freunde, moegen es Leute aus dem Volk oder Fuersten und Adel sein, immer vor Augen, immer ist ihm alles und jedes gegenstaendlich, steht leibhaftig vor ihm, wie bei der lebendigen Rede. Er redet die Personen und Dinge, von denen er spricht, an, plaudert, verhandelt, streitet, spielt mit ihnen, als wenn sie gegenwaertig vor ihm staenden. Dies giebt seiner Darstellung oft etwas Drama-

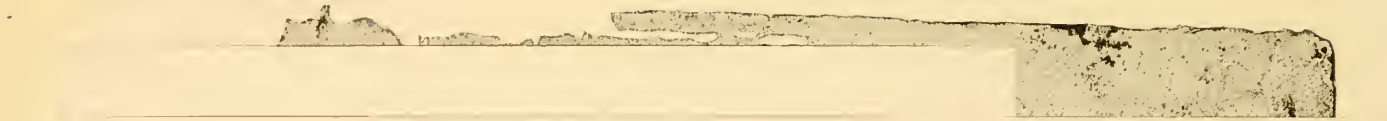
tisches. Und je nachdem die Sache, um derentwillen er schreibt, seinen Herzschlag erregter macht oder ruhiger das Herz schlagen laesst, ist auch die Darstellung erregter oder ruhiger, kampflustiger oder friedlicher, ist der ganze Ton bis auf den Fall der Worte und Saetze ein anderer. Alles ist eben laut gesprochen gedacht, *alles ist lebendige Rede.* Bald donnert und blitzt es bei ihm, der Sturm zieht einher und wirft die Mauern der Papisten ueber den Haufen; bald wieder weht uns der stille Geist des Friedens an, wo er die "Summa eines christlichen Lebens" zieht; bald hoeren wir die liebevoll mahnende und belehrende Stimme des Lehrers und Predigers, der die Irregeleiteten auf die richtige Bahn zurueckfuehren will; bald wieder, wie in der Historie von Bruder Heinrichs Tod, den schlichten, einfaeltigen Ton der Chronik. Je nach dem Zweck, den er verfolgt, nach den Personen, an die er sich wendet, je nach Lage und Umstaenden, je nach der Sache, fuer die er eifert, ist Ton und Charakter seiner Schriften ein anderer, und jedesmal der angemessene. Und jeder Stimmung, jeder Tonart fuegt sich, wie Stil und Darstellung, so auch seine Sprache. Alle Mittel stehen ihm zur Verfuegung: Der derbe, wenn es sein muss, selbst niedrige Ausdruck, wenn er nur volkstuemlich ist und wirkt, die Keulenworte, Hohn und Spott ebenso wie die zartesten und lieblichsten Worte; Bilder, Gleichnisse, Sprichwoerter, Personifikationen, das Wortspiel und der Gleichklang, die Form der rhethorishen Wiederholung, der Steigerung und Uebertreibung, alles ist ihm zur Hand. Will man in diesem lebendigen Gefuehl, diesem sicheren Takt, fuer die jedesmal angemessene Form und fuer das lebendig Wirksame Kunst sehen, so mag man das; aber es ist angeborene Kunst, nicht gesuchte, obschon Luther sie mit Bewusstsein angewendet hat.

Auch die Eigenheiten seines *Satzbaus* erklaeren sich aus der lebendigen Rede. Oft finden wir ein lockeres Gefuege, wenig Unterordnung; Gedanke reiht sich eben an Gedanke, wie er im Augenblick kommt, in einfachster Form, noch ehe die Arbeit logischer Unterordnung begonnen hat. Selbst die vermittelnden Konjunktionen koennen zwischen ihnen fehlen, der Redende spart sie, um seine Worte wirkungsvoller zu machen, und ersetzt das Fehlende durch den Ton. Oft draengen zwei, drei und mehr Nebengedanken sich herzu, sie werden alle im Augen-

blick, sowie sie kommen, in der lebendigen Rede mitgenommen, schliesslich ist die urspruenglich begonnene Form des Satzes darueber vergessen, und es entsteht, bei Luther nicht selten, das Anakoluth. Anderwaerts begegnen wir bei ihm wieder Satzschachtelungen. Sie erwachsen aus derselben Wurzel. Auch sie beruhen wesentlich darauf, dass der *Redende* all die Gesichtspunkte, die gleichzeitig in Betracht kommen, auch gleichzeitig und mit eins seinen Hoerern zu Gehoer bringen will, ohne dass er sich, wie der *Schreibende* das kann und soll, die Zeit goennt, zu sehen, ob nicht das Gleiche durch eine kunstvollere Anordnung und Verteilung auch erreicht wird. Hier von dem Einfluss der Kanzleisprache zu reden, wie man das tut, ist verkehrt, es heisst Luthers Stil, der aus der lebendigen Rede erwachsen ist, missverstehen.

Endlich ist auch die oft freie Wortfolge, das Weglassen der Hilfszeitwoerter "sein" und "haben," der pronominalen Subjekte, wo sie leicht aus dem Zusammenhang sich ergeben, das einmalige Setzen des Artikels bei Verbindungen von Woertern verschiedenen Geschlechtes und sogar verschiedenen Nummerus, das einmalige Setzen des "zu" vor Verbindungen mehrerer Infinitive, die haeufige Silbenkuerzung durch Apokope und Synkope, wie endlich auch die Vorliebe zu alliterierenden und reimenden Gleichklaengen, alles dieses ist aus der lebendigen Rede zu erklaeren, wie es denn im *Volksliede* gang und gaebe ist und noch bei *Goethe,* "dem Knecht Luthers" wie ihn der Staatsrat v. Merian genannt hat, vielfach begegnet.

Wie Luther ein *geborener Redner* war, so ist er ein Redner auch da, wo er schreibt, in jedem Satz, in jedem Wort. *Laut* gesprochen wollen seine Worte sein, nicht stumm gelesen, wenn man den Zauber dieser Sprache und Darstellung, das frische Leben, den rednerischen Akzent, Satzbau, Ton und Fall seiner Saetze und Perioden an sich erfahren und verstehen will. Dann wird auch der Reiz seiner Schriften, der bisher noch nicht erwaehnt ist, dass aus jeden Luther'schen Schrift die *Persoenlichkeit* des Mannes, bald diese bald jene Seite mehr beleuchtet, zutage tritt, zu wirkungsvoller Geltung kommen. Noch mag hier eine Aeusserung des Kurfuersten von Sachsen Johann Friedrich ueber Luthers Schriften einen Platz finden, die Aurifaber in der Vorrede zu der Eisleben'schen Sammlung



Wo ein Husvader synem gesynde schal leren/sick des Morgens vnde Auendes tho fegende.

Des Morgens wenn du vth dem bedde springest/ so schaltu dy segenen mit dem Hilligen Crütze vnde seggen.

Des wolde Godt/de Vader/de Söne/vnde de Hillige geist/ Amen.

Darna knyende edder stande/ den Louen vnde dat Vader vnse spreken/ Wultu/ so machstu dyth bedeken dartho spreken.

Ick dancke dy myn hemmelsche Vader/dorch Jhesum Christum dynen leuen Söne mynen Heren/dat du my desse nacht auer vor allem schaden vnde vare behodt vnde bewaret heffst/ Vnde bidde dy/Du willest my dessen dach auer ock bewaren/ vor sünden vnde allem öuel/dat dy alle myn dönt vnde leuent behage/Wente ick beuele/my/ myn liff vnde seele/vnde alle dinck/ynn dyne hende/Dyn hillige Engel sy mit my/dat de böse viendt nene macht auer my vinde/ Amen.

Vnde denne mit frowden tho dynem arbeide gegban/ Vnde wor ein lede gesungen/alse de Tein bnde/edder wot dyne andacht giffe.

Des Auendes wenn du tho bedde gheist/so schaltu dy segenen mit dem Hilligen Crütze vnde seggen.

Des wolde Godt/de Vader/de Söne/vnde de Hillige geist/ Amen.

Darna knyende edder stande/den Louen vnde dat Vader vnse spreken/ Wultu/so machstu dyth bedeken dartho spreken.

Ick dancke dy myn hemmelsche Vader/dorch Jhesum Christum dynen leuen Söne mynen Heren/dat du my dessen dach auer gnedichliken behodt vnde bewaret heffst/ Vnde bidde dy/Du willest my vorgeuen/alle myne sünde/wor ick vnrecht gedan hebbe/vnde my desse nacht auer ock gnedichliken bewaren/ Wente ick beuele/my/ myn liff vnde seele/vnde alle dinck/in dyne hende/Dyn hillige Engel sy mit my/dat de böse viendt nene macht auer my vinde/ Amen.

Vnde denne flucks vnde frölick geslapen.

Mart. Luther.

Gedruckt tho Wittenberch/dorch Nickel Schirlentz. MDXXIX.

BIBL. VNIVERS. LIPS.

Catechism-table in Low-German, 1529

Several months before Luther edited the Small Catechism in book form it appeared in the form of tables or placards, really to hang up on the wall at home, in the school and in the church, in order to keep these texts and explanations always in sight. Only one of them is known to have been preserved. It contains the morning and evening prayers of the Catechism in Low German. Our reprint is three fourths the size of the original.

Luther'scher Schriften (1564) mitteilt; "Der Kurfuerst pflegte ofte zu mir zu sagen, dass Luthers Buecher herzeten, durch Mark und Bein gingen und reichen Geist in sich haetten. Denn wenn er gleich einen Bogen von anderer Theologen Schriften lese und nur ein Blaetlin Luther dagegen hielte, so befuende er mehr Safts und Krafts, denn in ganzen Bogen anderer Scribenten." (l. c. p. 21 ff.)

Gillhoff in praise of the language of the Small Catechism writes in part as follows: "Es ist ein ganz merkwuerdiges Auf- und Niederwogen, wie wir es vielleicht in der ganzen Literatur nicht wiederfinden. Und in diese Rhythmen schmiegt sich leicht und sicher ein Stoff, von dem niemand sagen kann, dass er Musik und Rythmus in sich trage, wie etwa ein Volkslied seine Melodie. Das ist ueberstroemende Tonfuelle und zugleich vollendete Meisterung deutscher Volksart und deutscher Volkssprache. Und die einzelnen Wendungen wachsen und dehnen sich aus. Umfangreichere Figuren tauchen auf, greifen ineinander, bewegen sich in denselben Schwingungen. Einfache Wortfuegungen werden abgeloesst von praepositionalen Figuren; kurze syntaktische Tongebilde uebernehmen weiterhin die Fuehrung. An die Stelle der zwei Glieder treten gar drei. Spielend leicht greifen sie Nebenmotive und Geleittoene auf, fuehren sie fort, weben sie ineinander, und ihre hoechste Bluete erreicht diese dreigliedrige Komposition in der beruehmten unvergleichlichen Erklaerung zum anderen Artikel.

"Wenn jemals ein Sprachmeister erstand, der in den einfachsten Toenen tiefste Geheimnisse aussprach, so war es hier. Wenn jemals in deutscher Sprache und Art ein im kleinen Rahmen ueberschaubares Kunstwerk deutscher Prosa geschaffen wurde, so geschah es hier, wenn jemals die Goetter einen Mann segneten, dass er, bewusst oder unbewusst, ein vollendetes Werk der Volkskunst schuf auf dem Boden des Volks und seiner Beduerfnisse, in der Art des Volks und mit den Ausdrucksmitteln seiner Sprache, zum Heil des Volks und seiner Jugend durch die Jahrhunderte, so war es hier. Die Erklaerung zum anderen Artikel ist ein Hauptstueck der Heimatkunst deutscher Poesie. Aber sie ist es vor allem um deswillen, weil sie nicht aus duerrer Umgebung hervorragt und allein auf sich den Blick lenkt. Sie ist es nur um deswillen, weil sie in sich zusammen-

fasst und kroent, was durchgaengiger Charakter des Buechleins ist." (l. c. p. 15, 16.)

Alfred Goetze characterizes the German literature of the period of the Reformation as follows: "Man hat in der Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts von einer Reformationspause gesprochen. Der Ausdruck birgt ein Koernlein Wahrheit und eine grosse Ungerechtigkeit. Gewiss sind von der gewaltigen religioesen Anspannung der Zeit zugleich mit andern geistigen Kraeften auch die literarischen eine Zeit lang zurueckgedraengt worden; gewiss hat die Reformation, wie in die nationale und politische Entwicklung, so auch in die literarische einen neuen Gegensatz getragen, in dem sie die Glaubenseinheit der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft aufhob. Aber keineswegs kann man behaupten, dass die Epoche, die das geistige Leben der neuen Zeit bestimmt hat, in der Gemuet und Geist ihr Gepraege erhalten haben auf Jahrhunderte hinaus, fuer die Literatur ausfalle. Geistige Freiheit, Idealismus und Sittlichkeit, den ungehammten Zug zur Wahrheit und die Wucht der Sprache hat auch die Dichtung der neuen Zeit als Erbteil der Reformation bekommen. Daneben koennte die eigene poetische Leistung der Reformation getrost zuruecktreten als eine gleichgueltige Nebenfrucht, zufaellig gereift da, wo so viel Gewaltigeres im Keim angelegt wurde. Tatsaechlich aber ist das alles beherrschende religioese Interesse der Reformationszeit durchaus nicht poesiefeindlich gewesen. Es bedurfte vielmehr der Hilfe der Dichtung, und die fuehrenden Geister sind sich dessen frueh bewusst geworden: Luther selbst ist zu allem auch ein grosser Dichter gewesen. Im Beruf des Vaters wie im Wesen der Mutter greift ihm das Poetische am naechsten zum Herzen. Diese Zuege sind es, die ihn in der bunten Kirchlichkeit der Bergstadt Mansfeld, der duesteren Asketik Magdeburgs, in Heiligendienst und Aberglauben ruehren und fesseln. Die Natur der goldenen Aue und der heitere Sinn ihrer Bewohner praegen ihn zum hurtigen, froehlichen Gesellen, sangesfroh und wunderbar frisch in der Beobachtung alles dessen, was ihm vor Augen tritt, dazu von einer packenden Gewalt der Sprache, die all dieser Beobachtung Leben und Farbe durch vier Jahrhunderte geliehen hat. Auf sprachlichem Gebiet liegt denn die Grosstat Luthers, mit der er am unwidersprochensten und breitesten gewirkt hat: Der

Reformator, der das geistige Leben der Reformation neu begruendet, schafft auch die Form neu, in der es einherstroemen und wachsen kann,—eine Leistung, wie sie auf sprachlichem Gebiet kein zweiter Deutscher aufzuweisen hat. Er fuellt die junge Schriftsprache mit dem gewaltigsten Inhalt in Bibeluebersetzung und Exegese, Predigt und Polemik,—alle auch an poetischem Gewinn so reich, dass es fuer Luthers Dichtergroesse fast nich noetig waere, dass er selbst auch als Dichter das Wort ergriffen haette. Er hat es getan, gewaltiger als irgend ein Zeitgenosse, und hat seiner Kirche das Kirchenlied geschaffen, das sie brauchte. Die gewaltige Bewegung lebt und arbeitet darin, aber alle persoenlichen Beziehungen sind abgestreift: Darum traegt Luthers Dichtung den Stempel ewiger Geltung." (Die Religion in Geschichte u. Gegenwart III, p. 2256.)

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Die Siebend bitte.

Sondern erlöse vns von dem vbel.

Was ist das? Antwort.

Wir bitten ynn diesem gebet/ als ynn der summa / das vns der Vater ym Hymel von allerley vbel leibs vnd seele/ guts vnd ehre erlöse / vnd zu letzt wen vnser stündlin kompt/ ein seliges ende beschere/ vnd mit gnaden von diesem iamertal zu sich neme yn den Hymel.

F ij

Two pages from the third Wittenberg book edition of the Small Catechism, 1529.

This edition had twenty colored illustrations, one to each commandment, article, and petition. On one page was the illustration and on the opposite page was the corresponding part of the catechism. The illustration to the seventh petition is one of the two that have been preserved. It represents the Heathen Woman. Our reprint is about four-fifths the size of the original.

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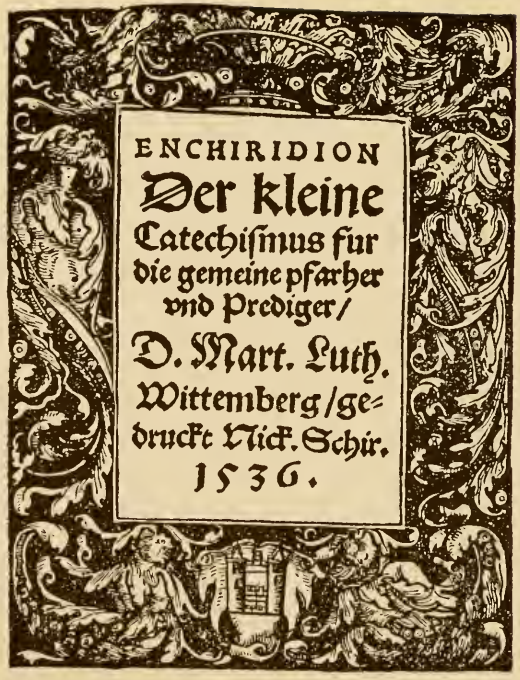
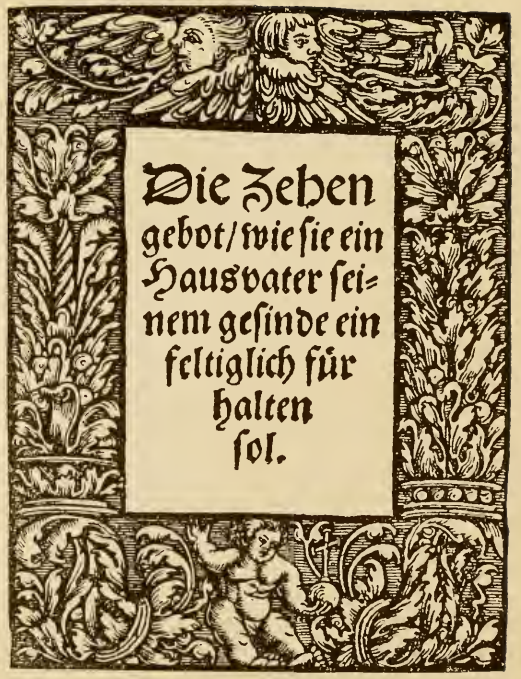
[79] We give the whole passage of the "Kirchenordnung" for Pommern of 1534 (printed 1535). Here we read:

Van examinatoribus.—"Wert vor gut angeseen, dat de predicanten to Stettin tosammende in deme orde, und alle predicanten tom Griepswolde eder tom sunde des ordes, unde de pedicanten to Colberge in dem sulvigen orde examinatores sind, also dat wor men einen predicanten annehmen will, dat men den hensende in de negeste Stadt van den dreen, dat he dar examiniert werde, effte he duechtig si gades wort to leeren unde seelen sorge up sick to nehmen, unde dat he dar eine korte rede dho, eine halve stunde lank vam gesette unde evangelio, geloven und werken; darna frage men ehn, wat he van den sacramenten, bote unde



Title page of Luther's Small Catechism.
Wittenberg edition, 1536.



Title page to the Ten Commandments.
Wittenberg edition, 1536.

The first and second (High-German) Wittenberg book editions of the Small Catechism are lost; the third edition (June, 1529) is known in one copy only, very much mutilated; the fourth (1531) is sold to England; the fifth appeared 1535. The edition of 1536 is the sixth. Our reprint shows the original size of the printed space.

overicheit holde. Unde so he duechtig in der leere gefunden wert, schoelen de suelvigen predicanten eine schriftlicke tuechnisse geven siner leere; dar na mach de gemene, de solcken predicanten bogeret, dorch de ienen den solckes bevalen is, as noemlick dorch den rat und alle casten, diakene eder andere, de dat ius patronatus hebben, solcken predicanten annehmen unde dem bischop presentieren, mit antoegingen siner gnaden, dat dese si ein ehrlick man unde unberuechtiget, siner leere oeverst halven, wert he tuechenisse van den examinatoribus, unde denne schall em de bischop vor holden, noemlick dat he schall dat wort gades truwlick und vlitich prediken, unde sick der ordeninge deses landes unverruecklick na holden, unde ein ehrlick tuechtich levend voeren, van den sacramenten christlick, samt den anderen deses landes eindrechtichlick holden gehorsam sin siner overicheit in allen billicken dingen, und solcken gehorsam ock leren, unde wo he gefunden wuerde hirwider to doende, dat he entsettet, unde ock wo he in froemde unrechte leere unde gebruck der sacramente vele, vorwiset werden scholle; darna schall ehne de bischop bestedigen, und also bestediget schicken der kerken, de en fordert. Wat hir oeverst to gevende si vor breve unde segel, schall de kercke utrichten.

Darna up einen sondach schall de suelvige predicant dor dem altare, so idt eine stadt is, na der epistel mit upleginge der hende dorch de anderen predicanten, unde etlicke van der gemene, unde den oldeaten angenamen werden unde der kerken bevalen mit den ceremonien in der Luebischen ordeninge vorvatet.

So idt overst ein dorp is, schoelen de negesten beide parhern ehne annehmen unde bestedigen in siner kerken na der sulvigen wise."

[79a] We add the letter of Luther, dated October 24, 1535, showing Luther's and Bugenhagen's view. It reads: Suo in Domino fratri carissimo Friderico Myconio, ministro Christi in Ecclesia Gothensi fidelissimo et suavissimo.—Gratiam et pacem in Christo. Remittimus vestrum Joannem per vos vocatum et electum, per nos quoque examinatum, et publice coram nostra Ecclesia inter orationes et laudes Dei in vestrum comministrum ordinatum et confirmatum ad mandatum Principis nostri, licet D. Pomeranus non satis facilis ad hoc fuerit, ut qui adhuc sentit, quemlibet in Ecclesia sua ordinandum per suos presbyteros. Quod fiet tandem,

ubi ista res nova et ordinatio radices altius egerit, et mos firmior factus fuerit. Commendamus eum vobis, ut dignum est. Et simul pro nobis orate, sicut nos pro vobis. Nihil novarum hic est. Valete omnes in Christo. Feria 4. post Lucae 1535.—Si testimonio aliquando ei fuerit opus, ex vobis dari satis fuerit, cum aliquantum ministraverit.—T. Martinus Luther.

We also add the passage of the "Kirchenordnung" for Luebeck to which Bugenhagen here refers. Here we read:

Des sondages, wen de epistole gelesen is, balde schall ein prediker edder capellan up dem predickstole alse vermanen: Leven Frunde in Christo, gi weten, dat wi apenbar gebeden hebben, dat uns godt umme Christus willen wolde toschicken einen superattendenten, pastorem edder parner, capellaen edder prediker. Dar baven habben de, den idt bevalen is, ock eren deenst und vlit dar to gedaen und erwelet N., welcken se so vele minschliken gerichte und vorstande mogelick, achten erlick, tuchtich, sedich, nicht girich, unstraflick vor sick und de sinen, de he bi sick plecht to hebbende, darto geweldig mit dem worde des heren, de conscientie undertorichtende, und den wedderspreken den mund to stoppende, alsė Paulus tom Timotheo und Tito leret, und Christus ock vam truwen hussholdere Matth. 24. Darumme biddet, dat godt dorch Jesum Christum unsen heren em gnade geve, sulck amt uns tor salicheit tovorende gedenket jo, welk ein exempel Christus uns sulvest gegeven hefft, alse Lucas schrifft im 6. cap., do he des morgens wolde vorderen unde erwehlen de 11 apostelen tom predickampte, hedde he tovorne de gansen nacht gebedet allene up dem berge to gade, dat wi ock mit unsem bede gade dusse sake bevelen, so kan se nicht ovel geraden, wen wi ock na mogeliken vlite, einen Judas unwetende erweleden. Dusse N. avers schall nu vor dem altar mit sange un bede, und uplegginge der hende juwer leve vorgestellet werden, dat wi emn so in dussem unsem ampte der gnade gades bevelen, und dese gemene wete, dat dusser personen bi uns sulck ampt bevalen, si. Einen e. radt, de kerkveders, de borgere und gemene volk, junk und olt, vormane ick tobedende, dewile de kinder dat alleluia im chore singen.

Dar up singen de kinder im chore haleluia, Veni sancte spiritus. Dewile averst, daz me so singet, kamen de pastores ut allen karken, und setten sick up de knee, mit dem ordinanden int mid-

del gestellet, nedder vor dat altar, und beden hemelick bi sick. De averst de nagolgende collecta schall lesen, schall sick up de knee setten baven vor dat altar und ock beden. Darsumme motme in der karken, dar sulkes gescheen schal, eine halve stunde tidiger luden to der missen, dat de pastores konnen wedder tidich kamen to eren predickstolen, dar se ock scholen gemene bet don na de sermone vor den ordinatum. . . . .

So balde nu dat haleluia ute is mit der repeticie, staen alle predicanten up und leggen dem sittenden ordinando de hende upt hovet, de averst baven vor dat altar sat, schall vor sinem angesichte staen, gekeret na dem volke, leggen ock sine hende mit den anderen up, und lesen dusse collecta edder gebet.

Lat uns bidden. Almechtige ewige vader, de du hafft dorch unsen einigen mester Jesum Christum alse geleret, de arne is vele, averst weinich sint der arbeiders, darumme biddet den heren der anre, dat he arbeiders in sine arne sende, welcke worde uns vormanen, gude arbeidere, dat sint predikere, van diner gnade mit ernstlickem bede to vordere. Wi bidden dine gruntlose barmhertichcit, dattu machst gnedich upseent up dussen dinen knecht, unsen erweleden prediker, dat he vlitick si mit dinem worde, Christum Jesum unse einige salicheit to predekende, de conscientie to underrichtende und to trostende, to strafende, to bedrouwende, to vormanende mit aller lanchmodicheit und lere, dat jo dat hillige evangelium reine ane todont minschliker lere stede bi uns blive und frucht bringe der ewigen salicheit mank uns allen, dorch den sulvigen Jesum Christum unsen heren. Respondetur amen.

Dar up singet dat volk: Nu bidde wi den hilligen geest etc. und de pastores vallen up de knee und bevelen gade dorch Christum dusse sake. Balde averst staen se up under dem sange, und gaen erlick ut de karken, ein juwelick na sinem predickstole. Na dem sange prediket me etc.

Sunderger kleder edder pracht dorve wi nicht to dusser sake, sunder allene, wo me seen mach, steit dusse vorgescrevene anneminge up dussen twen nothliken stucken. Dat erste, dat wi de sake gade mit unsem bede bevelen. Dat ander, dat de gemene see und erkenne den, de tom predikampte und seelsorger erwelet is, dat se ene dar vor holde. Also gelt dusse vorordeninge vor gade und vor den luden tor salicheit.

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[81] G. Mentz, die Wittenberger Artikel von 1536, Lateinisch und deutsch zum ersten mal herausgegeben, 1905.

[82] G. Kawerau, Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas, 1. vol. 1885.—H. E. Jacobs, The Lutheran Movement in England, 1894.—M. Reu, Quellen z. Geschichte des kirchl. Unterrichts zwischen 1530 und 1600, I, 1. 2. 3. 1904. 1911. 1916.—If it is not made impossible by the war, the present writer will republish this rare catechism in its original English form. Compare Grachner's article in W. Dau, Four Hundred Years, St. Louis, 1917, and E. H. Rausch in Kirchliche Zeitschrift (February), 1917.

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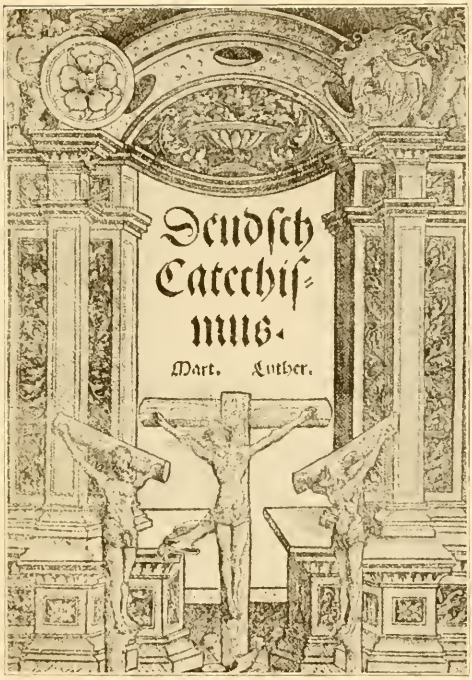

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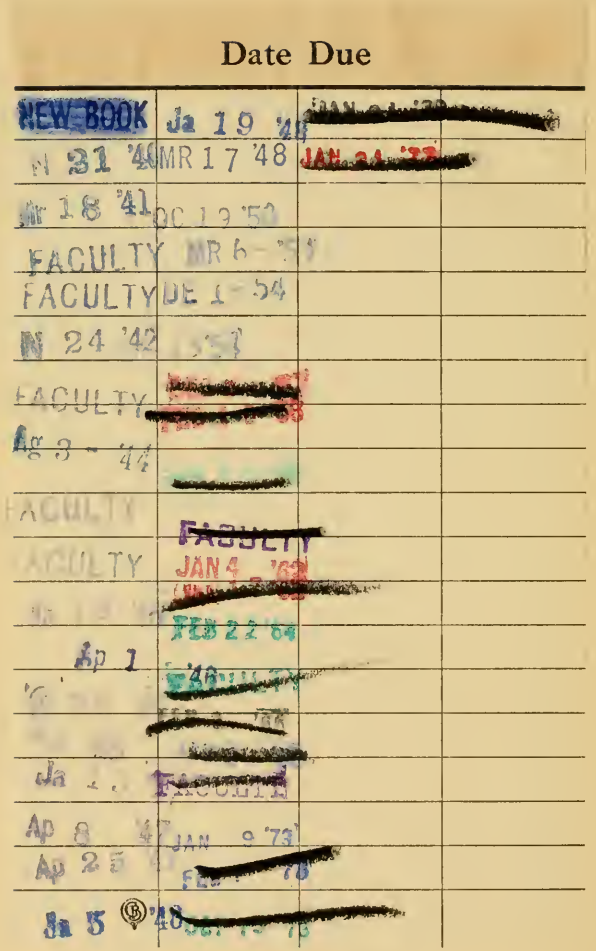

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